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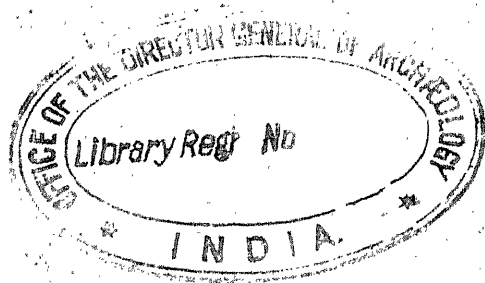
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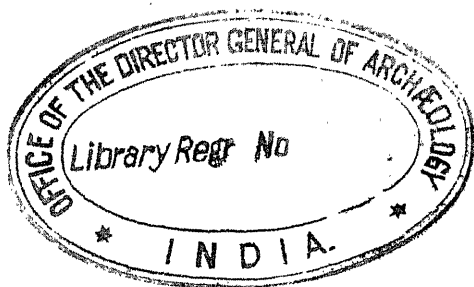
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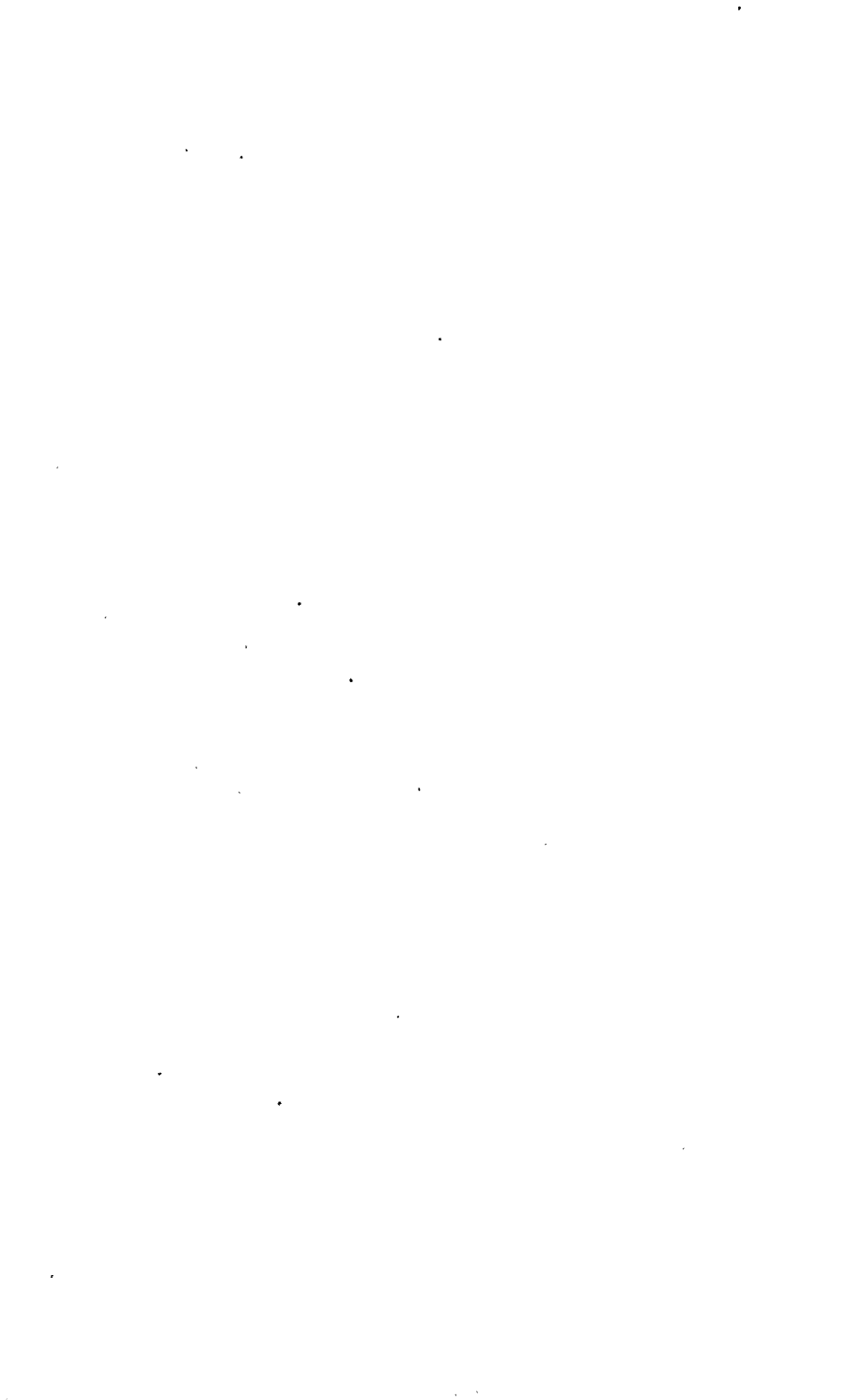




THE  
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,  
AND  
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.







THE  
 NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,  
 AND  
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 OF THE  
 NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

EDITED BY  
 JOHN EVANS, V.P.R.S., V.P.S.A., P.G.S.,  
 W. S. W. VAUX, M.A., F.R.S.,  
 AND  
 BARCLAY V. HEAD.

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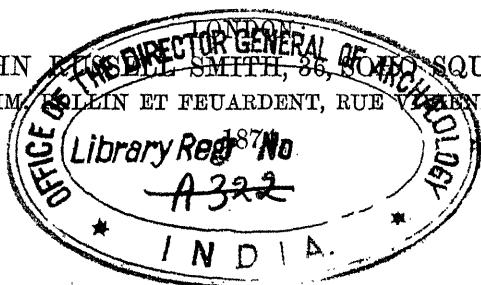
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## CONTENTS.

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### ANCIENT NUMISMATICS.

	Page
On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Syracuse. By Barclay V. Head, Esq. . . . .	1
On some Unpublished or Little-known Coins of the Romans relating to Britain. By the Rev. Professor Churchill Babington, B.D., F.L.S., &c. . . . .	81
A Coin of Heraüs, Saka King. By Percy Gardner, Esq., M.A. . . . .	161
Thasian Manubria. By Percy Gardner, Esq., M.A. . . . .	168
Explication d'un Didrachme inédit de la Ville d'Ichnae (Macédoine). Notice suivie d'Eclaircissements relatifs à la Numismatique des Bottiéens. Par M. H. Ferdinand Bompois . . . . .	177, 273
Jewish Numismatics. Being a Supplement to the "History of Jewish Coinage and Money in the Old and New Testa- ments," published in 1864. By Frederic W. Madden, Esq. . . . .	281

---

### ORIENTAL NUMISMATICS.

Notes on some of the Dynasty of the Khalifahs of Bani- Umeya. By E. T. Rogers, Esq. . . . .	349
--	-----

## MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN NUMISMATICS.

	Page
On the Coins of Ethelred, King of Northumbria. By C. F. Keary, Esq. . . . .	94
King Charles the First's Collection of Coins. By Henry W. Henfroy, Esq. . . . .	100
On a Die for a Half-crown of Charles I. By Henry W. Henfroy, Esq. . . . .	105
On Thomas Simon's Connection with Guernsey. By Henry W. Henfroy, Esq. . . . .	107
The Copper Coinage of 1672—73. By Captain Edward Hoare, of Cork . . . . .	113
Notes on the Annals of the Scottish Coinage. Nos. VI., VII., and VIII. By R. W. Cochran-Patrick, Esq., F.S.A., Scot. . . . .	118, 229, 317
A Russian Numismatic Glossary. By Stanley Lane Poole, Esq. . . . .	339

## NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

Zeitschrift für Numismatik . . . . .	155, 351
Revue de la Numismatique Belge . . . . .	156, 270
Roman Imperial Photographs . . . . .	156
Revue Numismatique . . . . .	267
Mélanges de Numismatiques . . . . .	269
Catalogue of the Roman Medallions in the British Museum. By Herbert A. Grueber, edited by Reginald Stuart Poole	270

MISCELLANEA.

	Page
Notes on Snelling's Seventy-two Plates of Coins, published 1757 . . . . .	159
New International Edition of Marsden's "Numismata Orientalia" . . . . .	160
Discovery of Sterlings in Ayr . . . . .	351
Find of Coins in the Isle of Wight . . . . .	352



# NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

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## I.

### ON THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE COINS OF SYRACUSE.

#### INTRODUCTION.

It is with no small hesitation that I venture to publish the following remarks on the history of the coinage of Syracuse. So many celebrated numismatists and scholars have already written on this subject, that it may with some reason be objected that little, if anything, of importance remains to be said on the matter.

Nevertheless, after a long and careful study of the Syracusan series preserved in our national collection, I have been led to hope that in the following survey I shall be able to contribute something of interest to the student of Greek numismatics, more especially as regards the chronological sequence of the coins in question. It appears to me that a great drawback to the usefulness of many catalogues is the method which has been generally adopted of keeping the metals apart; for, when gold, silver, and copper are separately described, we lose sight of the minute links, such as monograms, symbols, &c., whereby I hope to be able to connect the issues in the different metals, and thus to fix the date of many coins which, for want of comparison with other pieces the date



of which is ascertained, have usually been massed together under the general heading of "Autonomous, of Syracuse." This applies more especially to the many varieties of copper coins struck during so long a period of Syracusan history.

I have, therefore, divided into periods the history of the city, and have assigned to each the coins of all metals which appear to hang together in groups whenever, from internal evidence or analogy, this course was possible. I believe that by the adoption of this plan, the date, often within a few years, may be fixed of the issue of very many coins which it would be otherwise impossible, judging simply from the style of their work, to attribute, except in a very general manner.

The above remarks on the separation of the metals apply with still greater force to the coins of the later tyrants, which are often described by themselves at the end of the autonomous series. It will at once be seen how important are these pieces which proclaim their own history, and tell us distinctly by whom they were issued. These are our landmarks. The plan which I here submit to the consideration of students is to take a general view of the chronology of Syracusan history—to draw, as it were, a map in outline, and then to fill it in, first of all by placing under their respective dates such coins as tell their own story, and then, proceeding by analogy of style, similarity of type and fabric, identity of monograms, single letters, symbols, and the like, to complete the picture by the attribution of all such coins as, taken by themselves, give us no clue to their exact place in the historical scheme.

It is surprising how few of the autonomous coins of Syracuse will not thus fall into their proper places, and

so the whole series will form a numismatic commentary upon the history of the city—a history which is a continual alternation between free popular democracies and tyrannical governments, succeeding one another at frequent intervals, from the time of the oligarchy of the Geomori, in the sixth century B.C., when the earliest coins were issued, down to the siege and capture of the city by Marcellus in B.C. 212, after which date Syracuse, with all Sicily, sank into the condition of a mere province of the great Roman Republic, and lost the privilege of striking money in its own name—at any rate in the precious metals; for, judging from the style of some of the copper, it seems to have been permitted to strike in that metal for some considerable time after its capture.

The coins of Syracuse, when thus arranged in chronological sequence, will provide us with a valuable means for arranging in a similar manner those of the other Greek cities of Sicily, and these, on the other hand, will be a sort of check on the accuracy of the arrangement of the Syracusan series, many of the Syracusan types having been adopted, on various occasions, by other cities in the island, which occasionally supply us with more precise chronological indications.

The coins of Alexander and Pyrrhos of Epirus, struck in Southern Italy and Sicily, will also afford us valuable data for the attribution of certain Syracusan types, which bear a marked resemblance to them in style. Alexander was in Italy between the years 332 and 326 B.C., and Pyrrhos in Sicily between 278 and 276. Both these monarchs struck coins which, on account of their style, are generally acknowledged to be the work of Italian and Sicilian Greeks. When, therefore, we find certain Syracusan types closely allied to the coins of these two kings,

we are justified in attributing the one set to the time of Alexander and the other to that of Pyrrhos.

No less apparent is the influence of Corinth on the Syracusan coinage during the time when the Corinthian Timoleon was occupied in the emancipation of Syracuse from the tyranny of the successors of Dionysios, and also of all the Greek cities of Sicily from their several tyrants, and from the Carthaginian dominion. Consequently, about this period we can trace in the coinage of some Sicilian towns a community of type and a similarity of style with that of Syracuse which mark them as belonging to this time of renewed prosperity and freedom, when the worship of Zeus Eleutherios, which had been first of all established at Syracuse in B.C. 466, on the restoration of democracy after the exile of Thrasybulos, seems, after the lapse of a century and more, again to have called forth the religious feelings of the people in gratitude for liberty and order regained after so long a period of tyranny and anarchy.

The history of the city of Syracuse may be divided into the following periods :—

	B.C.
I. Oligarchy of the Geomori . . . . .	6th century
II. Gelon . . . . .	485—478
III. Hieron I. . . . .	478—467
IV. Democracy before the Athenian siege . . . . .	466—415
V. Democracy after the siege . . . . .	412—406
VI. Dionysios and his successors . . . . .	406—345
VII. Timoleon and Democracy restored . . . . .	344—317
VIII. Agathokles . . . . .	317—289
IX. Democracy . . . . .	289—287
X. Hiketas . . . . .	287—278
XI. Pyrrhos . . . . .	278—276
XII. Hieron II. (Gelon II. and Philistis) . . . . .	275—216
XIII. Hieronymos . . . . .	216—215
XIV. Democracy . . . . .	215—212
XV. Under Roman government . . . . .	212—

Before classifying the coins under the foregoing headings, I carefully abstained from reading anything that had previously been written on the subject, in order that whatever my arrangement might be worth, it might at all events be independent work. Not until the classification was complete, and its own place assigned to each coin, according to the best of my judgment, did I consult the following works. I then discovered that, taking my classification as a whole, I was, generally speaking, in agreement with former workers, with a few important exceptions, notably as regards the first copper money issued by Syracuse, where I differ entirely from Brandis, and as to the relative values of gold and silver after the middle of the fourth century B.C., where I am sorry to disagree with so high an authority as Mommsen. Among the works which I have consulted, I may mention the following as the most important :—

Grote, *History of Greece*.

Mommsen, *Histoire de la Monnaie Romaine*. Ed. Blacas. Introduction, ch. ii.

Brandis, J., *Münz- Mass- und Gewichtswesen*, &c., p. 274 sqq. De Luynes, *Rev. Num. Française*, 1843.

Leake, *Trans. R. Soc. Lit.*, ser. ii. vol. iii. 1850.

Brunet de Presle, *Établissements des Grecs en Sicile*.

R. Rochette, *Mém. de Numismatique et d'Antiquité*, Paris, 1840.

Sur les Médailles Siciliennes de Pyrrhus, Roi d'Épire, &c.

R. Rochette, *Graveurs des Monnaies Grecques*.

De Luynes, *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.*, 1830, p. 81. Du Demaretion.

G. Romano, *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.*, vol. xxxvi. 1864.

R. Rochette, *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.*, vol. i. p. 340 sqq.

Alessi, *Bulletino dell' Inst. Arch.*, 1833, No. 1, p. 8-15. De nummo Hieronis II.

Kenner, F., *Die Münzsammlung des Stiftes St. Florian*, pp. 13-16 and 49-55.

Salinas, *Le Monete delle antiche Città di Sicilia*, pl. I.—VIII.

„ Di due Monete della Regina Filistide, *Periodico di Numismatica e Sfragistica*, i. p. 193 sqq.

Imhoof-Blumer, Num. Zeitsch., iii., p. 4.

„ Berl. Blätt., v. 58.

Waddington, Mélanges de Numismatique, 2me série, p. 46-56.

I have, for the most part, confined my remarks to coins which I have seen with my own eyes, as, unless one is very sure of the fabric and style of a piece, it is hazardous to attribute from engravings, however good. Where a coin is not in the Museum collection, I have therefore noticed the fact.

## I. OLIGARCHY OF THE GEOMÓRI, SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

The earliest coins of Syracuse are universally acknowledged to be tetradrachms and didrachms of Attic weight. The obverse of the former has a quadriga driven by a male charioteer; that of the latter a naked horseman riding upon one horse and leading a second. The reverses of these coins consist of an incuse square divided into four quarters, in the centre of which is a female head. These coins are also characterized by the absence of the Nike, who crowns sometimes the driver and sometimes the horses, on all the Syracusan tetradrachms of later date, down to the time of Agathokles. The form of the  $\Sigma$  is also peculiar ( $\text{<}$ ), and does not again occur. The full inscription, which, however, is generally abbreviated, is  $\text{<YRA}\bigcirc\text{<ION}$ . There can be little doubt that these coins are antecedent to the tyranny of Gelon, and must therefore be attributed to the oligarchy of the Geomori, late in the sixth century B.C. (Pl. I. 1—2.)

## II. GELON, B.C. 485—478.

The coins which follow next in order to those above described still preserve the  $\bigcirc$  in the inscription, but the



II

II

AUTOGRAF. L. N. G. O. N.

SYRACUSE.

GEOMORI — GELON I. VII<sup>th</sup> CENT. — B.C. 480.



Σ is replaced by the later form Ζ or Ζ, the other letters remaining unchanged.

They evidently mark the commencement of a new era in Syracusan history; the incuse square is renounced, and Nike makes her first appearance, crowning on some specimens the horses and on others the driver of the victorious quadriga. The female head from the centre of the incuse square on the earlier coinage, now becomes the principal type of the obverse, and is surrounded by dolphins. Tetradrachms and didrachms occur, the reverse type of the latter is similar to the obverse of the previous coinage. (Pl. I. 3.)

It is recorded that Gelon, as a citizen of Gela, conquered in the chariot-race at Olympia in B.C. 488.<sup>1</sup> He became master of Syracuse in 485, and it is highly probable that the introduction of this new type marks this epoch. The Nike evidently commemorates a victory in the games, and was probably placed by Gelon on his money both at Gela and Syracuse, in commemoration of his Olympic victory.<sup>2</sup> The coins of the group with the Φ, now assigned to Gelon, are rare; but exhibit several varieties of type. The hair of the female head is generally indicated by dots, as on the coins of the Geomori.

If this arrangement be adopted, we observe that some time during the reign of Gelon the Φ must have been replaced by the Κ; the types also of both sides underwent various modifications. The hair of the head upon the obverse gets by degrees to be indicated by lines

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<sup>1</sup> Donaldson's Pindar, p. xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the signification of Nike, and of the agonistic types which refer to chariot and horse-races, see R. S. Poole, "On the use of the Coins of Kamarina in illustration of the fourth and fifth Olympian Odes of Pindar," in the Transactions R. Soc. Lit., vol. x. part iii. n.s.



instead of dots, and the ends are usually turned up under the diadem of beads. (Pl. I. 4—6.) Some of these pieces betray a certain carelessness of work, the letters of the inscription being often reversed and upside down. In addition to the tetradrachm and didrachm, the drachm, obol, and the silver litra make their first appearance. (Pl. I. 7—10.) The type of the drachm is similar to that of the didrachm, except that the horseman on the reverse does not lead a second horse. The obol and the litra have the same head upon the obverse, but the reverse of the former seems to be distinguished by the wheel type and that of the latter by the cuttle-fish. The two are not always to be distinguished by their weight, though the litræ are, as a rule, a few grains heavier than the obols. The normal weights are, for the obol, 11·2, and for the litra, 13·5 grains. In the year 480<sup>3</sup> Gelon gained his famous victory over the Carthaginians at Himera, and, by the intervention of his wife, Demarete, concluded a solemn peace with his vanquished foes, the conditions of which were so much more favourable than they had been led to expect, that in gratitude they presented to Demarete a hundred talents of gold, from the proceeds of which were struck, circ. B.C. 479, the celebrated Pentekontalitra, surnamed Demaretia.<sup>4</sup> These pieces of 50 litræ or 10 Attic drachms are so well known that I need not here describe them minutely. The head upon the obverse is

<sup>3</sup> Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. ii. 30. Herod., vii. 166.

<sup>4</sup> Pollux, ix. 85.

Diod., xi. 26 :—καὶ στεφανωθεῖσα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἑκατὸν ταλάντοις χρυσίου, νόμισμα ἐξέκοψε τὸ κληθὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Δαμαρέτειον· τοῦτο δὲ ἔειχεν Ἀττικὰς δραχμὰς δέκα, ἐκλήθη δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Σικελιώταις ἀπὸ τοῦ σταθμοῦ πεντηκοντάλιτρον.

See also De Luynes, *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.*, 1830, p. 81.

crowned with olive instead of with the usual diadem of beads, and may be intended for Nike;<sup>5</sup> it is also enclosed in a circle, as on some of the earlier tetradrachms with the  $\Phi$ . In the exergue is a lion, possibly the symbol of Africa, in memory of the great victory over the Carthaginians, concerning which Diodoros<sup>6</sup> remarks that the number of captives taken by Gelon was so great that it seemed as if all Libya had become his prisoner.<sup>7</sup>

Besides the pentekontalitron or dekadrachm there are tetradrachms and obols of this coinage; the former bears a very close resemblance to the dekadrachm; the obol has the same olive-crowned head upon the obverse and the usual wheel upon the reverse. (Pl. I., 10 bis—12.)

These coins may be looked upon as the last of purely archaic style. Gelon died in B.C. 478, and was succeeded by his brother Hieron.

### III. HIERON I., B.C. 478—467.

As the renown of Gelon sprang from his victory at Himera, so the chief glory of Hieron dates from his great sea-fight with the Etruscans near Cumæ, B.C. 474, in which he shattered the naval power of that nation, hitherto supreme upon the sea (*θαλαττοκρατούντες*).<sup>8</sup> This mari-

<sup>5</sup> R. S. Poole, *Coins of Kamarina*, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Diod., xi. 25. Ἐπήγετο γὰρ αἰχμαλώτων τοσοῦτο πλῆθος, ὥστε δοκεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς νήσου γεγενῆσθαι τὴν Λιβύην ὅλην αἰχμαλώτην.

<sup>7</sup> Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthum*, vol. i. 208.

<sup>8</sup> Diod., li. 2. Although the Tyrrhenians are not included in the famous list of Thalassocracies by Castor of Rhodes, it has, nevertheless, been placed beyond doubt both by Ottfried Müller and Lepsius, that, in the Pelasgic ages, they were the rulers of the sea. On this subject see also De Rouge (*Rev. Arch.*, 1867, p. 92) who identifies as Tyrrhenians the people called *Turs'a* in Egyptian inscriptions, a word which exactly represents the ancient form of the Italic name of the Etruscans

time victory is alluded to by Pindar (Pyth., i. 72), and there is a helmet still in existence, now preserved in the British Museum, which was dedicated from his Tyrrhenian spoils by Hieron to Zeus at Olympia, where it was found in 1817. It bears the following inscription :—

**ΕΙΛΑΡΟΝΟΔΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΕΟΣ  
ΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ  
ΤΟΙΔΙΤΥΡΑΝΑΠΟΚΥΜΑΣ**

*i.e.,* Ἱέρων ὁ Δεινόμενος καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι  
τῷ Διὶ Τυρρῆνὰ ἀπὸ Κύμης.

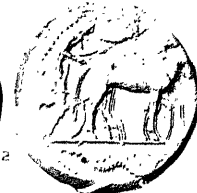
The forms of the letters in this inscription correspond with those on the coins of about this period.<sup>9</sup>

The coins which I would attribute to Hieron are a series having in the exergue, instead of the lion, a sea-monster or pistrix (Pl. II., 1—12), which I take to symbolize the vanquished naval power of the Tuscans, just as the lion which appears on Gelon's coins after the battle of Himera may symbolize the destruction of the African dominion in Sicily.

It must not, however, be imagined that the attribution of these coins to Hieron's time rests solely upon an interpretation of a symbol, which may be thought by many to be rather far-fetched and fanciful. Up to the year 479, when the Demaretia were issued, the style of the art had been purely archaic, the Demaretia themselves being only

*Tursce, Turscer, &c.* Cf. the Greek ethnic *Τυρσηνός, Τυρρῆνός*. There seems even some reason to suppose that the "ships of Tarshish" mentioned in Scripture were no other than Etruscan merchantmen. The Hebrew word *תַּרְשִׁישׁ* (Tarshish) has usually been identified with Tartessus in Spain; but De Rougé (l.c., p. 94, note 2) says that it is, in his opinion, "en rapport direct avec Turs'a, on sait qu'il figure, parmi les nations qui se partagèrent les îles de la mer, Gen. x. 4, 5."

<sup>9</sup> Engraved in *Rev. Num.*, 1843, pl. i.



Αρχαιολογ. Εφημερ.

SYRACUSE.

HIERON I. B.C. 479-466.



distinguished by a greater fineness of work. The series with the pistrix, or sea-monster, exhibits a marked advance upon the archaic style. For instance, the eye of the female head is represented, for the first time, in profile, and no longer with both corners visible as if seen from the front, a peculiarity of archaic art. (Cf. Pl. II. with Pl. I.) The hair also is waved and a greater variety is apparent in the mode of arranging it, the plain string of beads being often replaced by a fillet bound two or three times round the head. The horses of the quadriga, as on the earlier coins, are, with a single exception (Pl. II., 12, 13), always represented as walking and the charioteer is also always apparently male. The inscriptions are in general more carefully executed, being very seldom retrograde or inverted, as on the archaic, properly so called. The **R**, I imagine, towards the close of Hieron's reign gives place to the **P**, although it often reappears on pieces which are certainly later in style.

There are drachms, litræ, and smaller divisions which attach themselves by their style to the Pistrix series, although no piece smaller than the didrachm bears that symbol. (Pl. II., 4, 5, 13.)

The reign of Hieron seems to be the link which connects the pieces of archaic art with those of the early fine style which is characteristic of the Democracy which follows.

#### IV. DEMOCRACY, B.C. 466—415; BEFORE THE ATHENIAN SIEGE.

The expulsion of Thrasybulos, the brother of Hieron, after one year's tyranny, led to the establishment of a democracy, during which the city, and indeed all Sicily, attained to a very high degree of wealth and prosperity

arising from the enjoyment of peace and free institutions, a condition which lasted until the time of the Athenian siege, B.C. 415—412.<sup>10</sup>

I would attribute to this period five distinct types of the tetradrachm, all of which exhibit a decided advance upon the semi-archaic series with the pistrix. They may be distinguished, as follows, by the arrangement of the hair of the female head. Type 1 with the sphendone (Pl. III. 1); Type 2, with the saccos or bag, generally ornamented with the Mæander pattern (Pl. III. 2, 3); Type 3, with a cord wound four times round the back hair. (Pl. III. 4.) All these have the exergue plain and the quadriga driven by a male charioteer. Types 4 and 5, on the other hand, have a locust in the exergue, and the quadriga is driven, for the first time, by a charioteer apparently female (Pl. III. 5, 6); the hair on type 4 is in a jewelled net, on type 5, bound by a cord twisted round it. The horses on all these coins are walking.

There are, as far as I am aware, no didrachms or drachms of this period.

The **P** is generally used during this period, but the older form **R** sometimes recurs: the **Ω** is not yet seen.

Before I proceed to the next period of Syracusan history, viz., that which succeeded the Athenian siege, B.C. 415—412, I must briefly consider the question as to which were the earliest copper coins, and whether they were first struck during the Democracy, 466—415, or later.

The ancient proportion in Sicily of copper to silver in value was 250 : 1, and the copper litra, which then weighed 3,375 grains (218 grammes), or half an Attic mina, was in value equal to 13·5 grains of silver (·87 grammes), or  $\frac{1}{10}$  of

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<sup>10</sup> Diod., xi. 68, 72.



SYRACUSE

DEMOCRACY. B.C. 466-406





the stater or didrachm, which was, in consequence, called the *δεκάλιτρος στατήρ*.<sup>11</sup> A new coin, the silver litra, foreign to the Attic system and in value  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the drachm, or 12 ounces of copper, was issued in very early times probably to take the place of the obol, or  $\frac{1}{6}$  of the drachm, equal only to 10 ounces of copper, the duodecimal system of division into 12 ounces having been always applied to the litra of copper.

Some time during the reign of Dionysios the elder, 405—367, the weight of the copper litra was reduced to  $\frac{1}{2} = 675$  grains (43·73 grammes). This reduced litra is called by Aristotle "the old" (*τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον*),<sup>12</sup> to distinguish it from the one in use during his own time (*τὸ δὲ ὑστέρων*), when it had undergone a second reduction of  $\frac{1}{2} = 337\cdot5$  grains (21·86 grammes). The silver litra—otherwise called the nummus, originally equal to one copper litra—was now, therefore, equal to ten; the two litræ being distinguished by the epithets silver and copper.<sup>13</sup>

Brandis expresses his opinion that the value of copper in proportion to silver rose from 250 : 1 to 50 : 1, and afterwards to 25 : 1, on the several reductions of the litra. I can, however, find no evidence that such was the fact, and I therefore prefer to treat, as Mommsen does, the several reductions of the litra as so many bankruptcies or expedients adopted by the State to facilitate the payment of debts, the proportionate values of copper and silver probably remaining about the same from the time of the first issue of copper coins down to the time of Hieron II. It is worthy of remark that during the whole of this period—viz., until B.C. 269—the same

<sup>11</sup> Pollux, iv. 175.

<sup>12</sup> Pollux, ix. 87.

<sup>13</sup> Mommsen, ed. Blacas, ch. ii. § 1.

relation between copper and silver existed at Rome as in Sicily—viz., 250 : 1.<sup>14</sup>

We now approach the question as to when copper was first coined at Syracuse, and whether it was issued of full weight according to its value in proportion to silver, or was only money of account with a fictitious value above its real one.

Brandis is of opinion that copper was coined in Sicily of full weight only so long as the original proportion of copper to silver as 250 : 1 was maintained.<sup>15</sup> Starting with this theory, he is obliged to make the heaviest copper coins of Syracuse the earliest in that metal. His classification is as follows :—

Copper to silver as 250 : 1. Weight of litra, 3375 grains.  
Two-ounce piece (562 grs.) :—

*Obv.*—Head of Pallas.

*Rev.*—Star between dolphins. Actual weight, 530-450 grs.  
(Pl. VII. 1.)

One-ounce (281 grs.) :—

*Obv.*—Head of Zeus Eleutherios.

*Rev.*—Free horse. Actual weight, 280 grs. (Pl. VII. 8.)

*Obv.*—Head of Zeus Eleutherios.

*Rev.*—Thunderbolt. Actual weight, 262-229 grs. (Pl. VII. 10.)

with smaller divisions, which I need not here mention. Notwithstanding the weight of these pieces, I cannot bring myself to believe that they are as early as Brandis maintains. The coins with the head of Zeus, *Rev.* Thunderbolt, bear a strong resemblance to the silver of Alexander of Epirus, struck in Italy B.C. 332—326, and, I should

<sup>14</sup> Mommsen, ed. Blacas, vol. ii. ch. iii. p. 31.

<sup>15</sup> Brandis, p. 276—“Es kommt vor allem darauf an, zu bestimmen, in wie fern und wie lange das Kupfergeld Werthmünze war und blieb. Offenbar war dies in Syrakus und in ganz Sicilien so lange der Fall, als die ursprüngliche Werthung der beiden Metalle wie 250 : 1 fest gehalten wurde.”

say, cannot be very much earlier than his time. The head of Zeus Eleutherios, also, is far more appropriate to the Democracy restored by Timoleon, than to the tyranny of Dionysios the elder.<sup>16</sup> As regards the large pieces with the head of Pallas, it is certainly possible that they may have been issued by Dionysios; but it seems to me that a type so thoroughly Corinthian in style, is far more likely to have been borrowed from the Corinthian staters which were struck at Syracuse at the time of the recolonisation by Timoleon. These two types, with others which I shall afterwards mention, would seem therefore to belong to the Democracy restored by Timoleon in B.C. 344. In this case, instead of being two-ounce and one-ounce pieces of full weight, they would be pieces of two *litrae* and one *litra* of the second reduction. This, however, is doubtful, for very little can be inferred from the weights of copper coins, and it is probable that even these massive coins are in reality only money of account which approximate in appearance to pieces of full weight and value.

If, then, these are not the earliest copper coins of Syracuse, which are?

Mommsen, who differs entirely from Brandis on the subject of Syracusan copper coins (looking upon them simply as money of account), is inclined to accept, as the earliest, the pieces with the incuse square divided into four quarters, with a star in the centre. (Pl. V. 13.)<sup>17</sup> The style of these coins is, however, that of the fine period

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<sup>16</sup> Of course it is quite out of the question that the coins with **ΙΕΥΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ** could have been struck during the first democracy after the exile of Thrasybulos in B.C. 466; when this worship was first instituted at Syracuse. Their style, not to mention the occurrence of the  $\Omega$  on the reverse, entirely precludes this supposition.

<sup>17</sup> Mommsen, ed. Blacas, vol. i. p. 108, note 1.

of art, and they bear a marked resemblance to Kimon's tetradrachms. The pieces which I believe to be the earliest copper, are a series having on the obverse a female head, with the hair gathered into a knot (*korymbos*) at the top of the head, and, on the reverse, the surface of which is slightly incuse, a cuttle-fish surrounded by the marks of value  $\therefore$ ; smaller divisions are known without these marks. (Pl. III. 7, 8.) These coins I take to be the trias, hexas (?) and ounce (?) of the earliest copper issue, of nominal, but not of real value, struck during the Democracy B.C. 466—412. The occurrence of the **P** precludes the possibility of their being earlier than this time. The head upon the obverse bears a strong resemblance to one of the pistrix-types of Hieron I. (Pl. II. 12.) The style is semi-archaic, or transitional, and they cannot possibly belong to the period to which Brandis classes them—viz., after the second reduction of the *litra*, which is more than a century later.<sup>18</sup>

#### V. FROM THE ATHENIAN SIEGE TO THE ACCESSION OF DIONYSIOS THE ELDER, B.C. 412—406.

Grote, in his history of Greece (ch. lxxxi.), says that the Syracusans, after the destruction of the Athenian besiegers, "elate with the plenitude of recent effort, and conscious that the late successful defence had been the joint work of all, were in a state of animated democratical impulse. On the proposition of an influential citizen named Diokles, a commission of ten was named, of which he was president, for the purpose of revising both the constitution and the legislature of the city."

Unfortunately, nothing is known of the details of the

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<sup>18</sup> Brandis, p. 590.

changes introduced by this Commission; but, that they were extensive there can be little doubt. It is not, therefore, improbable that a complete revision of the coinage may have taken place at this time, and certainly from the evidence afforded by the coins themselves, some such revision must be inferred.

One of the most important of these novelties seems to have been the institution for the first time of a coinage in gold, the first coins in this metal being small pieces. *Obv.* Head of Herakles in lion's skin. *Rev.* Incuse square, divided into four parts, with a female head in the centre. Wt. circ. 18 grains. Supposing the proportionate value of coined gold to coined silver to have been 1 : 15,<sup>19</sup> these pieces would correspond exactly in value to the silver tetradrachm. The half also exists. *Obv.* Head of Pallas. *Rev.* Incuse square, within which is a wheel. Weight, 9 grains = 1 didrachm. (Pl. III. 9, 11.)

To these must be added a small gold piece. *Obv.* **ΣΥΡΑ**. Head of Pallas. *Rev.* Gorgon-head. The weight of the British Museum specimen is 10·4 grains. This is probably a gold obol of Attic weight (11·25 grains), in which case it is equivalent to 12½ litræ, or 2½ drachms. (Pl. III. 10.)

With these earliest gold coins of Syracuse may be compared certain pieces of Gela, the authenticity of which has, however, been suspected by some, weighing 27 and 18 grains,<sup>20</sup> which, if true—and the weights are in their

<sup>19</sup> Mommsen, ed. Blacas, tom. i. ch. ii. p. 181.

<sup>20</sup> *Obv.*—Horseman, r., wearing "Phrygian" cap.

*Rev.*—**ΓΕΛΑΣ**. Half bull, swimming, r.; above, grain of barley. *N.* ·45; wt. 27 grs.

*Obv.*—**ΣΩΣΙΠΟΛ**. . Female head, l.

*Rev.*—**ΓΕΛΑΣ**. Half bull, swimming, l. *N.* ·45; wt. 18 grs.

favour—clearly belong to the same system. Gela was destroyed in 405. Agrigentum also, which was destroyed in 406, issued gold coins which seem to be struck on the silver standard, as they correspond in weight to Attic diobols, and have the proper marks of value; the two specimens in the Museum weighing 20·4 and 19·5 grains.<sup>21</sup> The existence of gold at these two places, before their destruction by the Carthaginians, renders it highly improbable that Syracuse would be without a contemporary coinage in that metal. The date of its introduction at all three cities is probably about B.C. 412.

In the Syracusan silver, the following remarkable innovations were introduced after the departure of the Athenians.

The style of the obverse becomes highly ornate, and great variety is apparent in the arrangement of the hair of the goddess, while on the reverse the horses of the chariot are always in high action.

About this time the  $\Omega$  begins to be seen on coins of Sicily. It is difficult to fix the exact date when it came into universal use,<sup>22</sup> but, for convenience sake, we may be allowed to attribute such as have  $\Sigma\text{Υ}\text{Ρ}\text{Α}\text{Κ}\text{Ο}\Sigma\text{Ι}\text{Ο}\text{Ν}$  to the Democracy B.C. 412—406, and those with  $\Sigma\text{Υ}\text{Ρ}\text{Α}\text{Κ}\text{Ο}\Sigma\text{Ι}\text{Ω}\text{Ν}$  to the next period.

Particular attention seems to have been now devoted

<sup>21</sup> *Obv.*— $\text{AKP}$ . Eagle devouring serpent; beneath, . . .

*Rev.*— $\Sigma\text{Ι}\text{Λ}\text{Α}\text{Ν}\text{Ο}\Sigma$ . Crab. *A.* 4; wt. 20·4 grs.

<sup>22</sup> The  $\Omega$  occurs on certain coins of Segesta struck before its destruction in B.C. 409, at Himera before B.C. 408, at Agrigentum before B.C. 406, on tetradrachms of fine style with the horses of the quadriga in high action. Also at Kamarina and Gela before B.C. 405. But its use seems to have been only exceptional before B.C. 406, after which it became general. This is but little anterior to the archonship of Eukleides, B.C. 404, when the Ionic forms were legally adopted at Athens.

to the coinage, and its beauty was regarded as an object of public interest. Hence the die-engravers were permitted for the first time to sign their work, and we frequently find that the two sides of the same coin are by different artists. Eumēnos, Soson,<sup>23</sup> and Phrygillos were the engravers employed principally upon the obverses of the coins which I would place before B.C. 406, and Eumenos, Evænetos, and Euth . . . upon the reverses during the same years.

The charioteer, almost always male up to B.C. 415, is now often apparently female, and in some specimens is evidently the goddess Persephone herself, for she carries a flaming torch.<sup>24</sup> (Pl. IV. 10 and V. 5.)

On one very beautiful reverse by Euth . . . the quadriga is driven by a male winged dæmon.<sup>25</sup> (Pl. III. 14.)

Drachms and half-drachms occur; the former signed by Eumenos. *Obv.* Female head, right; *Rev.* Leukaspis with shield and short sword (Pl. III. 15); the latter, *Obv.* Female head, left; hair in sphendone; *Rev.* Quadriga, &c., with a chariot wheel in the exergue; apparently the work of Evænetos.<sup>26</sup> (Pl. III. 16.)

The drachm with the head of Pallas full-face, and Leukaspis on the reverse, and the hemi-drachm with similar obverse, and a quadriga on the reverse, are apparently by Eukleides, and somewhat later. These belong to the Dionysian period with Ω.<sup>27</sup> (Pl. V. 6, 7.)

<sup>23</sup> A tetradrachm with the signature ΣΩΣΩΝ sold at the Sambon sale, is now in the cabinet of the late H. N. Davis, Esq. It bears a strong resemblance to that by Eumenos which is figured on Pl. III., No. 12.

<sup>24</sup> R. S. Poole, *Coins of Kamarina*, p. 6.

<sup>25</sup> Raoul Rochette, *Graveurs des Monnaies Grecques*, Pl. ii. 16.

<sup>26</sup> Mus. Hunter., T. 53, xx., xviii., xix.

<sup>27</sup> Mus. Hunter., T. 53, xvii., xxi.



VI. TIME OF DIONYSIOS AND HIS SUCCESSORS,  
B.C. 406—345.

To the tyranny of Dionysios must be classed the finest of all the Syracusan coins, both in gold and silver.

The relative value of gold, as compared with silver, still remains as high as 1 : 15, if we may draw this conclusion from the weights of the gold coins which seem to belong to this period: these are 90 and 45 grains, respectively equal to 1350 and 675 grains, *i.e.* 100, and 50 litræ or 2 and 1 dekadrachms.<sup>28</sup>

These pieces are of very great beauty; the larger of the two has **ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**, the last example of **Ο** for **Ω**. *Obv.* Head of Arethusa (?) left; *Rev.* Herakles and the lion. Probably by Kimon, as the British Museum specimen has the portion of a signature which has been read **ΚΙ**.<sup>29</sup> (Pl. IV. 1.)

The 50 litra piece, *Obv.* Young male head (Anapos?); *Rev.* Frce horse; has on both sides **ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**. The type is more appropriate to the Democracy than to the tyranny of Dionysios; possibly the dies were engraved shortly before his accession, but as it has the **Ω** it is not likely to be much earlier than B.C. 406. (Pl. IV. 2.)

The silver coins of the reigns of Dionysios and his successors are doubtless the most splendid specimens of the numismatic art which exist, for luxury of style and

<sup>28</sup> A gold coin, *Obv.*, Head of Arethusa; *Rev.*, Herakles and the lion is engraved in the *Annuaire de Numismatique*, tome iii., 1868, Pl. iii., from the Gréau collection, having two globules, marks of value, on the obverse. These I take to represent two dekadrachms.

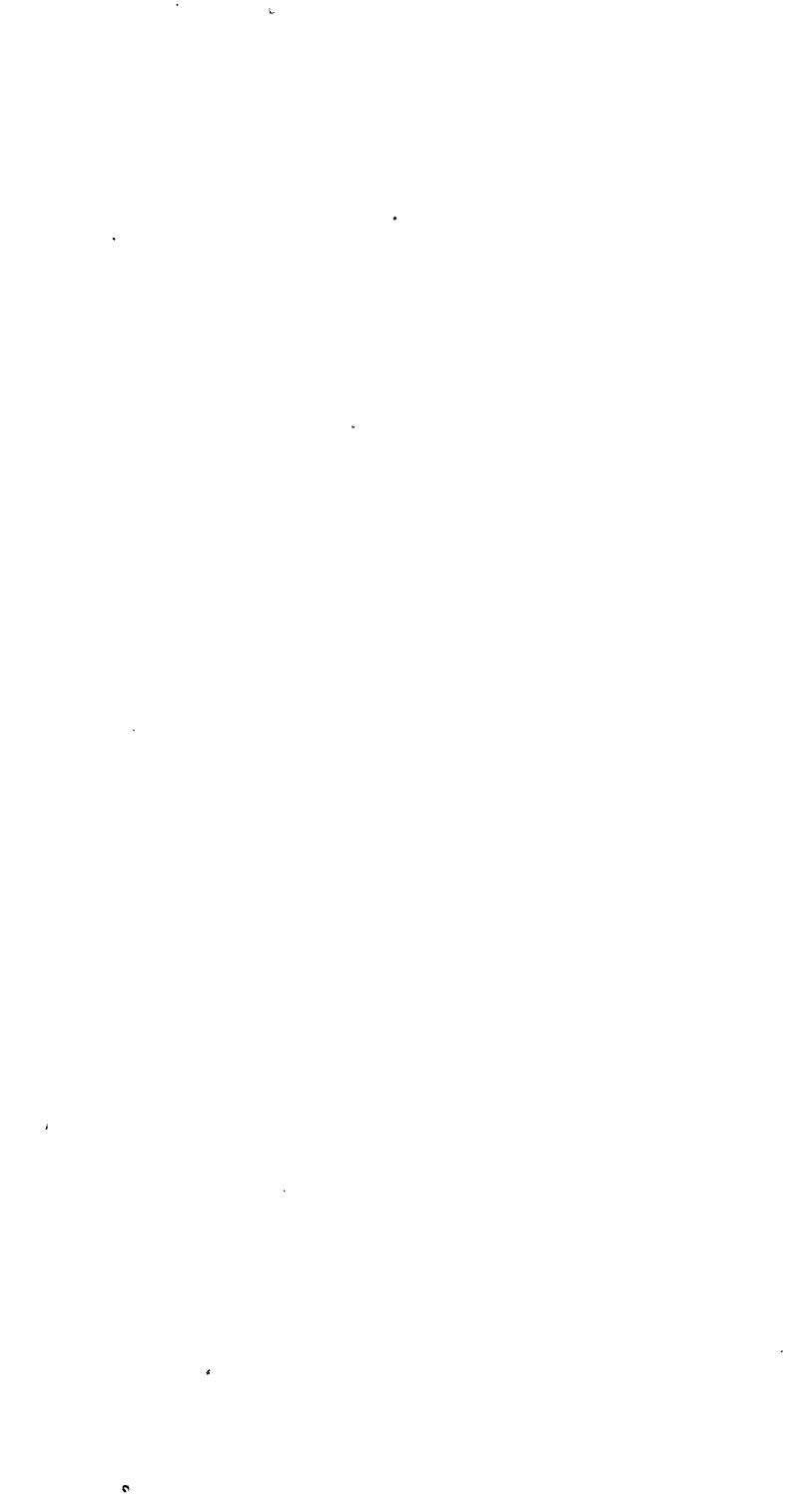
<sup>29</sup> The specimen in the Paris cabinet has **EY** and is probably by Evænetos. We may therefore on this ground reasonably place these two coins in the second period, which their style alone would justify.

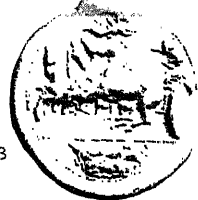


AUTOTYPE, LONDON

# SYRACUSE

DIONYSIAN DYNASTY. B.C. 405-345.





SYRACUSE.

DIONYSIAN DYNASTY. B.C. 405-345.



delicacy of work. They do not, however, exhibit that purity and simplicity which characterize the best art of Hellas and Ionia.<sup>30</sup> The engravers' names which occur most frequently upon the obverses are Evænetos, Eukleides, Kimon, and Parme . . . The first two of these are often combined with reverses by Eumenos. Eukleides and Kimon excelled in the representation of the full-face. The head of Pallas by Eukleides (Pl. IV. 10), and that of Arethusa by Kimon (Pl. IV. 9), are now justly celebrated, especially the latter, while the former appears to have been so great a favourite at the time as to have been adopted for the drachms and half-drachms of this period, the reverses of which are, respectively, Leukaspis, and quadriga. (Pl. V. 6, 7.) The litræ bear more resemblance to the works of Kimon or Parme . . . (Pl. V. 9, 10.) There is also a drachm of peculiar style, the reverse of which is signed by Kimon. (Pl. V. 8.) The hemilitræ, or half-obols, which seem to fall into this period, have on the reverse a wheel, generally with two dolphins in the lower quarters, a type which is reproduced on the copper. (Pl. V. 11, 14.) There is also a quarter-litra, or trias, equal to three ounces of copper, wt. 2·8 grains, with a cuttle-fish on the reverse, as on the litræ, but surrounded by three globules to designate its value. (Pl. V. 12.) This small silver piece may have supplanted the copper triantes with marks of value described on p. 15. (Pl. III. 7.)

The dekadrachms of this period are numerous, but seem to be all the works of the two artists Evænetos and Kimon, although they are not all signed. (Pl. IV. 3, 6, 7.)

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<sup>30</sup> R. S. Poole, Num. Chron., N.S., vol. iv. p. 236. "On Greek Coins as illustrating Greek Art."

The reverses of the silver exhibit great variety of detail. Those by Eumenos and Evænetos may be known by their style. The work of the former is characterized by its stiffness, and by a certain roughness of execution (cf. Pl. III. 12); that of the latter by an almost gem-like minuteness of work, which approaches to hardness.<sup>31</sup> (Pl. III. 13, *Rev.*, and Pl. IV. 4, *Rev.*)

The pieces which seem to belong to the close of this period do not bear artists' signatures. The head upon some of them resembles that of Artemis on the electrum coin with **ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ**; described in the next section. (Cf. Pl. V. 5 with Pl. VI. 1.) It can hardly be Artemis, however, in this instance, as she has no quiver at her back, but is probably Arethusa. There is also a head of Persephone crowned with corn, and with hair falling over her shoulders, which is certainly rather late in style (Pl. V. 4); also a remarkable coin with **ΣΥΠΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**, retrograde, and a female head, left, signed **ΙΜ**; in the exergue of this piece is a bull devoured by a lion, the well-known type of Akanthos. (Pl. V. 3.) Whether the peculiarity in the style of this piece, so different from the other tetradrachms of Syracuse, is due to its being the work of a native of Greece proper or Asia Minor,<sup>32</sup> or only to its being some ten or twenty years later, it is impossible to say.

During the reigns of Dionysios and his successors, the **Ο** (with the single exception of the gold piece of 100

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<sup>31</sup> The apparent commemoration of success at Olympia on these reverses, by Dionysios I., who sustained a defeat, has been justified in Mr. Poole's paper, "On the use of the Coins of Kamarina in illustration of the 4th and 5th Olympian Odes of Pindar," p. 11.

<sup>32</sup> R. S. Poole (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. iv. p. 246) says that it is unmistakably of Ionian work.

litraë) is never used for Ω; ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΣ, occasionally found in place of ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, being of course no exception to the rule.

The successors of Dionysios were: Dionysios II., 367—356; Dion, 356—353; Kallippos, 353—352; Hipparinos, 352—350. Interval, 350—344.

It is probable that nearly all the extant coins are to be attributed to the reigns of the two Dionysii and Dion. The nine years which follow the assassination of the latter were a continual scene of anarchy and disorder, during which it is not likely that much money was issued.

The copper, which from analogy of style and type, I would attribute to the Dionysian dynasty, are the following:—

1. *Obv.*—Head of Arethusa (?), hair in sphendone.

*Rev.*—Incuse square, divided into four quarters, with a star in the centre. Æ. .65. (Pl. V. 13.)

(Cf. the small gold coins described on p. 17.)

2. *Obv.*—Similar head.

*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑ. Wheel, in two quarters of which, dolphins. Æ. .6. (Pl. V. 14.)

(Cf. the half-obols in silver, p. 21.)

3. *Obv.*—Similar.

*Rev.*—Cuttle-fish or sepia. Æ. .6—5. (Pl. V. 15.)

(Cf. litraë and trias in silver, p. 21.)

4. *Obv.*—Similar.

*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑ. Trident. Æ. .45. (Pl. V. 16.)

These are, I believe, only money of account, but as they bear no marks of value, it is impossible to say what they may represent.



VII. TIME OF TIMOLEON AND THE RESTORED  
DEMOCRACY, B.C. 344—317.

The period which intervened between the death of Dion and the invitation sent to Corinth which resulted in the mission of Timoleon, was one of unexampled misery throughout Sicily. Plato, in one of his epistles, says that under the distraction and desolation which prevailed, even the Hellenic race and language were likely to perish in the island.<sup>33</sup> Driven to despair, the Syracusans at length invoked the aid of their mother-city, Corinth, which favourably received their prayers, and chose Timoleon, a man of devoted patriotism, and animated with an intense love of liberty, and a hatred of tyrannical institutions, to conduct an expedition for the relief of Syracuse.

With a small force, but claiming the special protection of Demeter and Persephone, he sailed to Italy; the sacred trireme, on her voyage by night across the sea from Corcyra, being illumined by a blaze of light from heaven, while a burning torch on high ran along with the ship and guided the pilot to his destination.<sup>34</sup>

After some delay at Rhegium, Timoleon effected a landing in Sicily, at Tauromenium. His first great success was at Adranum, where, by the help of the god Adranos, he surprised and defeated the troops of Hiketias. He soon after succeeded in obtaining possession of Syracuse, together with the person of Dionysios, who, although not master of the rest of the city, still held Ortygia. Timoleon, after shipping Dionysios off to

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<sup>33</sup> Plato, *Epistol.* viii. p. 353 F.

<sup>34</sup> Grote, *Part ii.* ch. 85; Plutarch, *Timoleon*, c. 8; *Diod.*, xvi. 66.

Corinth, and after demolishing the stronghold of the tyrants in Ortygia, and erecting upon its site courts of justice, proceeded to recall all who had been exiled, and to invite new colonists to settle at Syracuse. The total number of immigrants to the city in its renovated freedom was not less than 60,000.<sup>35</sup> Concerning the state of affairs at Syracuse at this time, Grote remarks:—"Nothing can be more mortifying than to find ourselves without information as to the manner in which Timoleon dealt with this large influx \* \* \* The land of Syracuse is said to have been distributed, and the houses to have been sold for 1,000 talents—the large sum of £230,000.<sup>36</sup> A right of preemption was allowed to the Syracusan exiles for repurchasing the houses formerly their own. As the houses were sold, and that too for a considerable price, so we may presume that the lands were sold also, and that the incoming settlers did not receive their lots gratuitously. But how they were sold, or how much of the territory was sold, we are left in ignorance. It is certain, however, that the effect of this new immigration was not only to renew the force and population of Syracuse, but also to furnish relief to the extreme poverty of the antecedent residents. A great deal of new money must thus have been brought in."<sup>37</sup>

The democratical constitution and laws established by Diokles about seventy years before were again put into force, with modifications necessitated by the state of the times. We possess no details of these reforms; but we may be quite sure that such a redistribution of property as that above-mentioned would render necessary an extensive

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<sup>35</sup> Plutarch, Timoleon, cap. 23.

<sup>36</sup> Talents of silver, not of gold, are to be understood.

<sup>37</sup> Grote, part ii. ch. 85.

issue of money of all sorts, and, probably, the adoption of some device to facilitate the payment of debts, and so relieve the extreme poverty of the inhabitants.

That a measure of this kind was resorted to, may be inferred from the large issue of electrum coins, which must be attributed to this period, both on account of their style, which is distinctly later than that of the gold of the fine period described above, and because it is difficult to conceive the possibility of a simultaneous issue of coins in pure gold and in electrum by the same city. The metal of which these coins are composed, if we may judge from the great differences in their colour, varies much ; but the average is probably about four-fifths gold to one-fifth silver.<sup>38</sup> Now it is probable that the ancient relation of gold to silver at Syracuse, as elsewhere, was much modified by the discovery of the gold-mines of Macedon by Philip in B.C. 356, which are said to have yielded as much as 1,000 talents a year, or more than £3,000,000. Such an influx of gold into Europe, where it had previously been very scarce, would naturally bring down the value of gold as compared with silver. When, some years later, a pure gold coinage was returned to in Syracuse, we find the Attic weight adopted for gold, and, as we shall see hereafter, a relation of 1 : 12. We may therefore reasonably suppose gold to have fallen to this rate in consequence of the discovery of the Macedonian gold-mines.

100 silver *litraë*, formerly represented by a gold piece of 90 grains, would, therefore, in Timoleon's time, be equal to 112·5 grains ; and 50 *litraë* of silver, formerly 45 grains of gold, would now be 56·25 grains, and so on. I conceive, therefore, that the electrum coins issued at this time were accepted as gold, and that, containing as

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<sup>38</sup> Mommsen, ed. Blacas, Annexe B. 9, p. 286.

they did about 20 per cent. of silver, a considerable saving was thus effected. The 100 litra piece, formerly 90 grains, would be raised to its new weight of 112·5 grains by the addition of silver, instead of gold. The actual weights of the specimens of this electrum coinage in the British Museum are somewhat various, some being slightly below and others slightly above their normal weight. This may be owing to the greater or less proportion of pure gold contained in the several pieces.

℞ Litrae	℞ Grs.	ℳ at 1 : 15	Actual wt. of ℳ	ℳ at 1 : 12	Actual wt. of Electrum
100 =	1350	90	88·9	112·5	106·4
50 =	675	45	44·7—44·1	56·25	58·4—53
30 =	405	27	None	33·75	32·8
25 =	337·5	22·5	None	28·12	28·6—27·3
20 =	270	18	18·1—17·7	22·5	None
12½ =	168·75	11·25	10·4	14·06	None
10 =	135	9	8·8	11·25	11—10·8

(NOTE.—Gold coins of 27 and 22·5 grs. although they do not occur at Syracuse during the period when gold was 1 : 15, are found at Gela and Agrigentum.) (See pp. 17, 18.)

We have thus pieces in electrum which represent 100, 50, 30, 25, and 10 litrae of silver, of the following types :—<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> It has been only after much consideration that I have ventured to differ from so high an authority as Mommsen as to the value in silver of the various Syracusan pieces issued in electrum. He is of opinion that the proportionate value of gold to silver as 1 : 15 was always maintained at Syracuse (Ed. Blacas, vol. i. p. 182); and, passing over the fact, which he elsewhere admits (Ib., p. 286), that some of the coins of this city are composed of electrum, he treats them all as if they were of pure gold, apparently contemporary, and consequently worth in silver as follows :—

TYPES.	WT. GRs.	℞ LITRAE.
Heads of Apollo and Artemis Soteira	108 =	120
Head of Arethusa; <i>Rev.</i> Herakles and lion	90 =	100
Head of Apollo; <i>Rev.</i> Tripod	54 =	60
do. <i>Rev.</i> Lyre	28 =	32
Head of Herakles; <i>Rev.</i> Incuse square, &c.	18 =	20

- 100 litræ. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo, left.  
*Rev.*—Head of Artemis with ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ. El. .7; wt. 106.4. (Pl. VI. 1.)
- 50 litræ. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo.  
*Rev.*—Tripod. El. .6; wt. 58.4—59. (Pl. VI. 2, 3.)
- 30 litræ. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus Eleutherios.  
*Rev.*—Pegasos with ⋄ (marks of value = 3 Corinthian staters or dekalitra). El. .45; wt. 82.8. (Pl. VI. 4)
- 25 litræ. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo.  
*Rev.*—Lyre. El. .45; wt. 28.6—27.3. (Pl. VI. 5.)
- 10 litræ. *Obv.*—Female head, right.  
*Rev.*—Cuttle-fish. El. .3; wt. 11—10.8. (Pl. VI. 6.)

There is no coin in electrum which represents the tetradrachm, or 20 litræ of silver; and it is probable that for some time after the recolonisation from Corinth, the tetradrachms ceased to be issued at Syracuse, their place being supplied by the Corinthian stater or dekalitron, which may be thus described: *Obv.* Head of Pallas, in plain Corinthian helmet, with neck-piece and no crest. *Rev.* ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, Pegasos. (Pl. VI. 7.) The staters of this type, as first introduced by Timoleon, may be distinguished from later issues of similar pieces (Pl. VIII. 5, 6; IX. 11, 12) by the following characteristics. First. The inscription is upon the obverse. Second. The head of Pallas is in a plain Corinthian helmet, without crest or griffin on the crown, with a flap to

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The gold staters of Agathokles, wt. 90 grs., the gold didrachms of Pyrrhos, and the drachms of the same prince and of Hiktas and Hieron II., Mommesen looks upon as equivalent respectively to 100, 150, and 75 litræ, whereas if, as I believe, the value of gold fell (circ. 356 B.C.) from 1 : 15 to 1 : 12, they would only be equal to 80, 120, and 60 litræ.



ΑΥΤΟΤΥΠΕ ΙΟΝΔΟΙ

SYRACUSE.

DEMOCRACY B.C. 345-317.



cover the neck, and a covering to protect the ear. The goddess has no necklace. Third. The Pegasos on the reverse is in higher relief than on later pieces of the same type. His head is larger, the wings more tapering, and the back somewhat longer. There is no triquetra in the field. These coins resemble in style the money of Corinth itself more nearly than do the later issues. It will be found convenient to bear in mind these minute varieties when we attempt a chronological arrangement of the Corinthian staters struck at Syracuse.<sup>40</sup>

The silver coins of the restored Democracy I believe, therefore, to be the following (Pl. VI. 7—16):—

Litr.	Normal weight	Actual weight	Types	
10	135	133	<i>Obv.</i> —Head of Pallas.	<i>Rev.</i> —Pegasos.
3	40·5	36·3	<i>Obv.</i> —Female head, laur., left, with dolphins.	<i>Rev.</i> —Pegasos.
3	40·5	38·7	<i>Obv.</i> —Head of Kyane, left, lion's head in field behind.	<i>Rev.</i> —Pegasos.
1½	20·25	19·6	<i>Obv.</i> —Same.	<i>Rev.</i> —Half Pegasos.
1½	20·25	19·8—17·2	<i>Obv.</i> —Head of Arethusa, with dolphins.	<i>Rev.</i> —Half Pegasos.
1	13·5	11·4—10	<i>Obv.</i> —Head of Kyane, left, lion's head in field behind.	<i>Rev.</i> —Sepia.
2½	33·75	31·3—29·9	<i>Obv.</i> —Head of Pallas, full-face.	<i>Rev.</i> —Naked horseman, often with ear of barley, star, & N.
2	27	23·3	<i>Obv.</i> —Janiform female head, laureate.	<i>Rev.</i> —Free horse, often with ear of barley, star, and N.
1¼	16·87	16·1	<i>Obv.</i> —Same.	<i>Rev.</i> —Free horse, with star.

The prevalence of Pegasos as a type at this period is doubtless due to Corinthian influence. The head of Zeus Eleutherios and the free horse speak for themselves as symbols of freedom and democracy. The naked youth

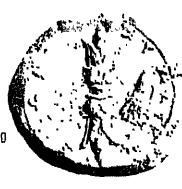
<sup>40</sup> With regard to the first issue of Corinthian staters at Syracuse in the time of Timoleon, see the excellent and convincing remarks of M. R. Rochette, *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.*, 1829, p. 384-5.



upon the horse is an agonistic type, and may refer to the games established at Timoleon's obsequies in B.C. 337, when the following announcement was proclaimed:—"The Syracusan people solemnise, at the cost of 200 minæ, the funeral of this man, the Corinthian Timoleon, son of Timodemos. They have passed a vote to honour him for all future time with festival matches, in music, horse and chariot races, and gymnastics, because, after having put down the despots, subdued the foreign enemy, and recolonised the greatest among the ruined cities, he restored to the Sicilian Greeks their constitution and laws." (Grote, chap. lxxxv.)

Another important reform which I believe to have been introduced by Timoleon was the issue of copper coins of substantial weight, and with an intrinsic value in themselves, although probably representing a value greater than their weight would warrant us in supposing. The following are the copper types which I would give to this period:—

1. *Obv.*—**ΣΥΡΑ**. Head of Pallas in Corinthian helmet bound with olive.  
*Rev.*—Star, the points of the rays connected by a sort of web. Æ. 1·15 inches; wt. 530—490 grs. (Pl. VII. 1.)
2. *Obv.*—**ΣΥΡΑ**. Similar type.  
*Rev.*—Sea-horse, with loose rein. Æ. .8 in.; wt. circ. 120 grs. (Pl. VII. 2.)
3. *Obv.*—Female head, left, hair in sphendone; behind, sprig of olive.  
*Rev.*—**ΣΥΡΑ**. Dolphin and scallop-shell. Æ. .7, wt. circ. 50 grs. (Pl. VII. 7.)
4. *Obv.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**. Head of hero (Archias?) in Corinthian helmet.  
*Rev.*—Pegasos and dolphin; beneath, **Σ**. Æ. 1·05; wt. circ. 335 grs. (Pl. VII. 4.)



SYRACUSE.

DEMOCRACY. B. C. 345-317.



5. *Obv.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟ** . . . . Head of Persephone, left.  
*Rev.*—Pegasus; beneath **Σ**. Æ. .85; wt. 180—165 grs.  
(Pi. VII. 5.)
6. *Obv.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**. Head of Aphrodite, left, hair  
bound with crossed cord, and with loose tresses  
hanging behind.  
*Rev.*—Half-Pegasus, left; beneath, **Σ**. Æ. .65; wt.  
82-70 grs. (Pi. VII. 8.)
7. *Obv.*—**ΙΕΥΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ**. Head of Zeus Eleu-  
therios, laureate, left.  
*Rev.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**. Free horse, left. Æ. 1; wt.  
334—280 grs. (Pi. VII. 8.)
8. *Obv.*—Similar.  
*Rev.*—Trident between two dolphins. Æ. 1; wt. 243  
grs. (Pi. VII. 9.)
9. *Obv.*—**ΙΕΥΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ**. Head of Zeus Eleu-  
therios, laureate, right, with neck bare behind.  
*Rev.*—Thunderbolt, with eagle or grain of barley in field.  
Æ. .95; wt. 276—250 grs. (Pi. VII. 10.)
10. *Obv.*—Same head, left.  
*Rev.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟ** . . . Thunderbolt. Æ. .65; wt. 50  
grs. (Pi. VII. 11.)
11. *Obv.*—Same, right.  
*Rev.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**. Sepia. Æ. .65; wt. 50 grs.
12. *Obv.*—Head of Anapos (?), full-face.  
*Rev.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**. Half-Pegasus, right; beneath,  
ear of barley. Æ. .65; wt. 48 grs. (Pi. VII. 6.)
13. *Obv.*—Head of Arethusa or Kyane, full face.  
*Rev.*—Sepia. Æ. .55; wt. circ. 30 grs.
14. *Obv.*—Sepia.  
*Rev.*—Pegasus. Æ. .25; wt. 6 grs.
15. *Obv.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**. Head of Apollo, left, laureate,  
with various symbols, pilos, pentagram, club,  
grapes, bow in case, amphora, bucranium (?),  
lion's head, as on small silver (Pi. VI. 10—12),  
torch, cornucopiæ, wreath, &c.

*Rev.*—Pegasos flying, left, with various letters, Α, ΑΓ, Ε, ΗΡ, Ε, ΝΙ, Δ, ΣΩ, &c. Æ. .7; wt. circ. 75-59. (Pl. VII. 12.)

Of the above-mentioned coins, No. 1, which Brandis supposes to be a two-ounce piece of about B.C. 400, I prefer, in spite of its weight, to attribute to the time of Timoleon (see above, p. 14). The head of Pallas on this and the following coin is evidently borrowed from that upon many Corinthian staters, a proceeding which is more likely to have taken place under Timoleon than at any other period in Syracusan history.<sup>41</sup>

No. 3 is a very difficult piece to attribute; it is certainly not later than Timoleon's time, though it may be somewhat earlier.

The Corinthian hero represented in No. 4 is doubtless the first founder of the colony, Archias, a type not inappropriate on the money of the recolonised city, the Pegasos on the reverse, together with the Σ and dolphin, are indicative of Corinth and Syracuse.

The head of Aphrodite in No. 6 is a thoroughly Corinthian type, and clearly belongs to the same period as the silver staters.

No. 7. The head of Zeus upon this coin is of finer work than that upon No. 9. It is probably some years earlier. Brandis looks upon it as an ounce of about B.C. 400.<sup>42</sup>

No. 8. The trident and dolphin on the reverse of

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<sup>41</sup> G. Romano, in a paper which I have not been able to obtain, *Mon. Scop. in Sic. della sped. di Agat. in Africa*, attributes this series of copper, as well as the Corinthian staters, to the time of Dion., B.C. 356—353, on what grounds I do not know. He, however, agrees with me as to the date of the series with Zeus Eleutherios.—*Annali dell' Inst. Arch.*, 1864, p. 67.

<sup>42</sup> Brandis, p. 277.

this coin much resemble a well-known type of Hieron II.; but the head of Zeus Eleutherios and the fabric of the piece compel us to place it as early as Timoleon's Democracy.

No. 9. The head of Zeus Eleutherios on this coin bears a strong resemblance to that on a silver coin of Locri, with the reverse ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΛΟΚΡΩΝ,<sup>43</sup> but this does not help us to fix the date. The great similarity of the reverse, however, to the silver of Alexander of Epirus, B.C. 332—326, renders it highly improbable that it is earlier than Timoleon, not to mention the allusion contained in the obverse type to the restoration of freedom. Brandis considers this coin as an ounce of the time of Dionysios the elder. I take it to be a litra of the second reduction, or possibly a hemilitron of the first, but considerably under weight. (See p. 14 above.)

Nos. 10 and 11 are evidently fractions of the previous specimen; if that is a hemilitron, these may be ounces.

Nos. 12 and 13. It is very doubtful whether these pieces do not belong to the period of Dionysios; the ear of corn, however, beneath the half-pegasos much resembles the one on the small silver mentioned above, and is seen again on the Corinthian staters of the time of Agathokles. The young male head upon No. 12 is perhaps intended to represent the river god Anapós, while the female head upon No. 13 may be that of the fountain nymph Kyane. These two divinities were worshipped by the Syracusans, the former under the likeness of a youth, the latter of a maiden.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Cat. Gr. C. in Brit. Mus. Italy. p. 364, 1.

<sup>44</sup> Aelian. Var. Hist. xxxiii. Καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ δὲ Συρακοῦσιοι μὲν τὸν Ἀναπὸν ἀνδρὶ εἰκασαν, τὴν δὲ Κυνῆν πηγὴν γυναικὸς εἰκόνι ἐτίμησαν.

No. 14. The cuttle-fish on this minute piece does not resemble the common Syracusan type. I doubt whether this coin is of Syracuse at all.

No. 15. The head of Apollo on this series strongly resembles the same head on the electrum coins, and the lion's head as a symbol is the same as that upon the silver pieces of 3, 1½, and 1 litræ above described (p. 29). The style of these coins and the letters on the reverses, most of which occur again later, mark this series as probably the last of the Democracy restored by Timoleon. They may have been struck about 320—317.

#### COINS RE-STRUCK OVER SYRACUSAN COPPER.

B.C. 344—339.

The large copper of Syracuse (*Obv.* Head of Pallas; *Rev.* Star between dolphins) as issued by Timoleon, probably immediately after the abdication of Dionysios in B.C. 344, would appear to have rapidly spread over the whole island, and even beyond the limits of Sicily.<sup>45</sup>

They seem to have been used extensively both by Greek and Sikel cities, by the Campanian mercenaries of the Carthaginians as well as by the allies of Timoleon himself as *flans* on which to strike their respective types.<sup>46</sup> The smaller Syracusan copper coins were also, though less commonly, used for a similar purpose. The following is a list of some of the pieces which I find to be generally re-struck over the large Syracusan copper. The evidence

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<sup>45</sup> There are coins of Lipara, *Obv.* Head of Hephæstos; *Rev.* Σ in wreath, with marks of value (semis), which are re-struck upon large Æ of Syracuse. Also of Croton, *Obv.* Head of Herakles in lion's skin; *Rev.* KPO, Tripod. (*Annali di Corr. Arch.*, 1864, p. 65).

<sup>46</sup> On the subject of these re-struck pieces see also the article by G. Romano, l. c.

of such re-striking may not on every specimen be beyond question, but there can be little doubt that, as a rule, vestiges of the previous Syracusan types will, on a careful examination, be discoverable.

ADRANUM (?).

1. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo, laureate, left.

*Rev.*—Lyre of seven strings. Æ. 1·2.

The star and dolphins of Syracuse are quite visible upon this piece. It was probably re-struck at Adranum soon after the capture of that city by Timoleon, B.C. 344.

Uncertain.—ADRANUM (?).

2. *Obv.*—Head of Sikelia (?), left, wreathed with myrtle (?), and wearing sphendone.

*Rev.*—Lyre, as on preceding. Æ. 1·2. (Pl. VIIa. 1.)

The head upon this coin is of great beauty, and looks like the work of an artist from Greece Proper, possibly of a Corinthian who came over with Timoleon; the style of the obverse being as foreign to Sicily as the fabric of the piece is Sicilian.

AGYRIUM.

3. *Obv.*—Traces of inscription, ΑΓΥ (?). Head of young Herakles in lion's skin, right.

*Rev.*—Fore-part of man-headed bull, standing, right. Æ. 1·2. (Pl. VIIa. 2.)

This coin is struck over a large copper piece of Syracuse, probably by Apolloniades of Agyrion, one of the last of the despots deposed by Timoleon, about 339 B.C. It may therefore have been issued any time between the years 344—339. The coins of Agyrion after its capture and recolonisation by Timoleon are similar to those of Syra-



cuse, and bear the types of Zeus Eleutherios and the thunderbolt.

CENTURIPÆ.

4. *Obv.*—Head of Persephone, left, copied from the dekadrachms of Evænetos, but clearly of later style. (Compare tetradrachm of Agathoklos, 1st period, p. 42).

*Rev.*—**KENTORIPINΩN**. Panther, left. Æ. 1·2. (Pl. VIIa. 3.)

This piece may have been re-struck by Nicodemos of Centuripæ, who was dethroned by Timoleon about the same time as Apolloniades of Agyrium.

TAUROMENIUM.

5. *Obv.*—Bull butting, left; above, **Α**

*Rev.*—Star of sixteen rays. Æ. 1·2. (Pl. VIIa. 4.)

Re-struck by Andromachos of Tauromenium, who was throughout the faithful ally of Timoleon.

ERYX.

6. *Obv.*—**EPYKINΩN**. Head of Zeus (Eleutherios?), right.

*Rev.*—Aphrodite seated, right, holding dove. Æ. 1·2. (Pl. VIIa. 5.)

Re-struck over large copper of Syracuse, probably by Timoleon's mercenaries, who invaded and occupied the Carthaginian territory in the extreme west of Sicily about 341.<sup>47</sup> The types of Zeus Eleutherios would be

<sup>47</sup> Grote, part ii. ch. lxxxv. "The Carthaginians were the more disposed to try another invasion of Sicily, as Timoleon, anxious to relieve the Syracusans, sent his soldiers under the Corinthian Deinarchos to find pay and plunder for themselves in the Carthaginian possessions near the western corner of Sicily. This invasion, while it abundantly supplied the wants of the soldiers, encouraged Entella and several other towns to revolt from Carthage." From their style, the copper coins of



AUTOGRAPH, LONDON

COINS RESTRUCK OVER  $\text{\AA}$  OF SYRACUSE .

B.C. 345-339.



appropriate on a coin issued under Timoleon's authority. The reverse of this coin is semi-barbarous in style.

## THERMÆ.

7. *Obv.*—**ΝΩΙΑΡΕΜΙ**. Half-bull swimming, left.

*Rev.*—Warrior with helmet, shield, and spear, charging, right. Æ. 1·2.

I believe this coin to have been re-struck in the same circumstances as the preceding. The inscription may be taken as a restoration of the earlier name of the city. Its being retrograde is perhaps an archaism, for we cannot suppose the piece to belong to the old city of Himera, which was destroyed as early as 408 B.C. If that were the case, all the heavy copper of Syracuse, on one of which this coin is re-struck, would have to be given to the period immediately following the Athenian siege, B.C. 412—406. This theory appears to me to be utterly untenable.

8. *Obv.*—**ΙΕΥΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ**. Head of Zeus Eleutherios, laureate, right.

*Rev.*—**ΑΛΑΙΣΙΝΩΝ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ**. Torch between two ears of barley. Æ. 1·2 Engraved by Salinas. Not in B. M.

9. *Obv.*—**ΣΙΚΕΛΙΑ**. Head of Sikelia, right, hair rolled.

*Rev.*—**ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ**. Same as preceding. Æ. 1. Engraved by Salinas. Not in B. M.

10. *Obv.*—**ΣΙΚΕΛΙΑ**. Same head left, hair in sphendone.

*Rev.*—**ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ**. Same as preceding. Æ. 1.

11. *Obv.*—**ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑΣ**. Head of Apollo, laureate, left.

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Entella, Nacona, and Ætna, struck by Campanian mercenaries, with the legend **ΚΑΜΓΑΝΩΝ**, in addition to the name of the city, and Pegasus or a Free horse on the reverse (Carelli, Tab. lxiii. 11—13), would appear to have been issued about this period.

*Rev.*—**ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ**. Torch, &c. *Æ.* 1·2. (Pl. VIIa. 7.)

12. *Obv.*—**ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑΣ**. Head of Apollo, laureate, left.

*Rev.*—**ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ**. Thunderbolt and grapes; in field, *H.* *Æ.* ·85. (Pl. VIIa. 8.)

The above-described interesting series of coins evidently belongs to the same period as those with the head of Zeus Eleutherios and the thunderbolt struck at Syracuse.<sup>48</sup> This will be evident to any one who will compare the obverse of No. 8 and the reverse of No. 12 with No. 9 of the copper of Timoleon described above (p. 31). Moreover, on some of the pieces with **ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑΣ** there are vestiges of the star and dolphins of Syracuse beneath the superimposed type. I would attribute the whole of the pieces of this class to the Sicilian allies of Timoleon assembled to resist the Carthaginian invasion. They may perhaps have been struck immediately after his great victory at the Krimesos, about B.C. 340, for the payment of the soldiers, when Timoleon, leaving most of his paid troops to carry on the war with the Carthaginians, conducted his Syracusan contingent home.<sup>49</sup> It is not im-

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<sup>48</sup> Mr. Gardner has suggested to me that with the **ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ** series may be compared the coins with the legend **ΚΑΙΝΟΝ**, *Obv.*, griffin; *Rev.*, free horse. This word has been generally accepted as an ethnic adjective or substantive formed from Cæna, a town mentioned only in the Antonine Itinerary. But it is clear from their style that these coins are contemporary with those of Syracuse with the same reverse type, and as at this period *O* was never used in place of *Ω*, it is needless to remark that **ΚΑΙΝΟΝ** cannot stand for **ΚΑΙΝΩΝ**, even if it be admitted that **ΚΑΙΝΩΝ** could stand for **ΚΑΙΝΙΝΩΝ**, the form which we should naturally expect. **ΚΑΙΝΟΝ** therefore, in all probability, simply means the "new" coinage issued at some one of the "ruined cities" when newly colonised by Timoleon.

<sup>49</sup> Grote, l. c.

probable that Alæsa may have been the head-quarters of these forces. This would explain the legend of No. 8, **ΑΛΑΙΣΙΝΩΝ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ**.<sup>50</sup> Diodoros, in the following passage distinctly states that Sikel and Sicanian towns no less than the Greek cities of the island hastened to join Timoleon in his war with the Carthaginians:—  
 “Τοῦ δὲ Τιμολέοντος αὐξάνοντος τῇ τε δυνάμει καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν δόξῃ, αἱ μὲν Ἑλληνίδες πόλεις, αἱ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ἅπασαι, προθύμως ὑπετάγησαν τῷ Τιμολέοντι, διὰ τὸ πύσαις τὰς αὐτονομίας ἀποδιδόναι, τῶν δὲ Σικελῶν καὶ Σικανῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπὸ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τεταγμένων πολλὰ διεπρεσβεύοντο πόλεις, σπεύδουσαι παραληφθῆναι πρὸς τὴν συμμαχίαν.” (Diod., xvi. 73.) The heads of Zeus Eleutherios, Apollo, as original Leader of the Colonists, and of Sikelia herself, are all most appropriate on coins of an alliance formed by Timoleon; as are also the torch and ears of barley the symbols of Demeter and Persephone, under whose special protection Timoleon set out upon his holy mission.<sup>51</sup> The head of Apollo with the epithet **ΑΡΧΑΓΕΤΑΣ** occurs also on the obviously contemporary coins of Tauromenium. As this city was from the first a steady ally of Timoleon, even before he had established his fame, its coins naturally connect this type of Apollo with Timoleon’s recolonisation of Sicily.

13. *Obv.*—**ΤΥΡΡΗ**. Head of Ares (?) in crested helmet, right.

*Rev.*—Pallas standing facing, with spear in right, and resting with left on shield. Æ. 1·2. (Pl. VIIa. 6.)

It is uncertain in what town coins of the above type

<sup>50</sup> The reverse type of these pieces, viz., Torch between ears of barley, occurs also at Enna. Hence coins with this type, even when they do not bear the name of that city, are by some supposed to have been struck there.

<sup>51</sup> Plutarch, Timoleon, c. 8. Diod., xvi. 66.

were issued: possibly at Ætna by the Campanian mercenaries called Tyrrhenians who had been planted there by the elder Dionysios, and who were besieged and exterminated by Timoleon, about B.C. 339. These people were doubtless in the pay of Carthage; their coins would appear to be always re-struck over those of Syracuse.<sup>52</sup>

14. Uncertain. (Lipara (?).)

*Obv.*—Youthful head, laureate, right.

*Rev.*—Dolphin, right, beneath which three large waves.  
Æ. 1·2.

Re-struck over a Syracusan piece, at Lipara (?) or possibly by some maritime city on the east coast.

#### VIII. AGATHOKLES. B.C. 317—289.

Syracuse was not destined to enjoy, for any length of time, the freedom which she had regained by Timoleon's aid. The Democracy, we know not by what means, seems to have lapsed into an oligarchy, and the oligarchy in its turn to have given place to a Democracy. Shortly after this, Agathokles, who had been named General of the city, and had consequently a mercenary force at his back, by a sudden stroke, seized upon the reins of government, and, after butchering 4,000 of the principal citizens and banishing some 6,000 more, convened what he called an Assembly of the people, and got himself proclaimed Despot.

Between the years 317 and 310 Agathokles occupied himself in subduing the rest of Sicily, the result being that all the Greek cities in the island became tributary to

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<sup>52</sup> G. Romano, l. c., is of opinion that these pieces were struck at Thermæ by Tyrrhenians established there. He bases his conjecture on the resemblance of the Pallas on the reverse to that upon a coin of Thermæ engraved by him. *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.*, 1864, Tav. d'agg. C., fig. 6.

him, although retaining their autonomy, excepting only Himera, Selinus, and Herakleia, which were under Carthage. Soon after this we find him at war with the Carthaginians in Sicily, when he was so hard pressed that he conceived the bold plan of carrying the war over into Africa, which he reached in safety, though pursued by the Punic fleet. This was in B.C. 310. For four years he prosecuted a successful war in the Carthaginian territory, and in 307 was so elate with prosperity that he assumed the title of *Βασιλεύς*. From 306 to the time of his death in 289 his reign was spent in the prosecution of useless and bloody campaigns in Sicily and Italy. Without this historical outline the following remarks on the coinage would not be intelligible: the first question to be settled is to what period to assign a series of gold coins of Attic weight, *Obv.* Head of Apollo, or young Herakles, laureate, left. *Rev.* Biga, driven by female charioteer, with the three-legged symbol of Sicily beneath the horses. (Pl. VIII. 1, 2.) The date of these coins once determined, the silver and copper which belong to the same class, and will be described below, necessarily fall into the same period.

Now, it is most unlikely that a coinage in pure gold could have been issued by the Democracy B.C. 344—317, as we have seen that an electrum coinage was in use during that period; besides which, the style of these coins shows an unmistakable resemblance to that of the gold of Hiketas who follows Agathokles, and none whatever to the electrum of the Democracy which precedes him.<sup>53</sup> I would therefore attribute this series to the early

<sup>53</sup> Kenner, "Münzsammlung des Stiftes St. Florian," p. 14, would attribute these coins to the latter end of the Democracy before Agathokles. He consequently agrees with me in so far



years of the reign of Agathokles before his assumption of the regal title. It is recorded that he courted popularity among the masses by pillaging the wealthy, and lavishing presents and pay upon the poorer population and his mercenary troops. What therefore is more natural than that, after the example of Dionysios, he should have issued a coinage in gold, struck from the proceeds of his ill-gotten wealth, for the payment of his soldiers and the support of his despotic power? That his coins at first do not bear his name, is consistent with what we read of his first acts after seizing the supreme power, when he affected an anxiety to live as a simple citizen, and had the audacity to proclaim that the Syracusan people had, by his means, reconquered their full liberty. Besides, it must not be forgotten that it had not yet become the habit, in Sicily at any rate, for tyrants to place their own names upon the coinage. This last innovation was reserved for Agathokles in after years, in imitation, perhaps, of the kings of Macedon. I would accordingly propose to divide the reign of Agathokles into three periods :—

1st.—B.C. 317—310, to which I would assign Attic gold drachms, tetrobols, and diobols, silver tetradrachms, staters (Corinthian), and drachms, and copper, all without his name and with **ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**. (Pl. VIII. 1—12.)

2nd.—B.C. 310—307, a gold stater of Attic weight with **ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ**, tetradrachms with **ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ** and

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that they are circ. 317, and he apparently only puts them before that year because they do not bear the name of Agathokles, an objection which, in my opinion, will disappear when it is remembered that Agathokles struck no money in his own name before B.C. 306, the unique gold stater of Attic weight with **ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ** excepted; for the **ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ** on the tetradrachms is, as Kenner himself acknowledges, merely an epithet of Nike.

**ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ**, also with **ΚΟΡΑΣ** and **ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ**, and copper with **ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**. (Pl. IX. 1—9.)

3rd.—B.C. 307—289, gold staters (weight 90 grs.) and copper with **ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ**, the tetradrachms of the previous period being probably discontinued, and the Corinthian staters being reduced in weight from 135 to 108 grs. (Pl. IX. 10—13.)

# PERIOD I. B.C. 317—310.

## GOLD.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo or young Herakles, laureate, left.  
*Rev.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**. Biga, right, driven by female charioteer; beneath, triquetra. *N.* .55; full wt., 67·5 grs. (Pl. VIII. 1.)
2. *Obv.*— } Same. *N.* .5; full wt., 45 grs. (Pl. VIII. 2.)  
*Rev.*— }
3. *Obv.*—Head of Persephone, left.  
*Rev.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**. Bull walking, left, with head lowered. *N.* .85; full wt. 22·5 grs. (Pl. VIII. 3.)

I think there can be little doubt that the relation of gold to silver at this period is 1 : 12, and that the drachm, tetrobol, and diobol in gold represent respectively 60, 40, and 20 litræ of silver—in other words, 3, 2, and 1 tetradrachms. This rate of 1 : 12 is very nearly identical with that which we find in Greece and Egypt about the same period (Brandis, p. 85, and 248—251). The type of these gold drachms seems to have been suggested by the famous Philippeia, struck in such large quantities, and by this time well known all over the Greek world. The triquetra is a symbol of Agathokles' dominion over the whole of Sicily.

## SILVER.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Persephone, left, hair short and curly; beneath **NK, NI, ΦΙ**, &c.

*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Quadriga, left, driven by female charioteer; above, triquetra; in exergue, Α. *Æ.* 1 (tetradrachm). (Pl. VIII. 4.)

On these tetradrachms we notice the first occurrence of letters *dotted* at the extremities, a style of writing which did not become general at Syracuse until the time of Hiketas, after whose time it became also more *prononcé*.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Pallas in crested Corinthian helmet, right, with neck-piece, and ornamented at the top with griffin.

*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Pegasos, beneath which triquetra. *Æ.* .85; full wt. 135 grs. (Pl. VIII. 5.)

3. *Obv.*—Same type; behind, trophy.

*Rev.*—Similar, but triquetra above, and sometimes ear of corn beneath. *Æ.* .85; full wt. 135 grs. (Pl. VIII. 6.)

4. *Obv.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head of Apollo or young Herakles, laureate, left.

*Rev.*—Triquetra, the feet wearing winged pedila, in the centre a Gorgon-head. *Æ.* .65 full wt. 67.5 grs. (Pl. VIII. 7.)

#### COPPER.

1. *Obv.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head of Apollo or young Herakles, laureate, left.

*Rev.*—Triquetra, as on the drachm. *Æ.* .75. (Pl. VIII. 8.)

2. *Obv.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head of Persephone, left; behind, star, barleycorn, scallop-shell, torch, &c.

*Rev.*—Bull, butting, left; above and below, dolphin, with letters ΑΙ, ΝΙ, ΝΚ, ΑΓ. *Æ.* .9. (Pl. VIII. 9, 10.)

3. *Obv.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Similar head.

*Rev.*—Same, with letter Φ. *Æ.* .75.

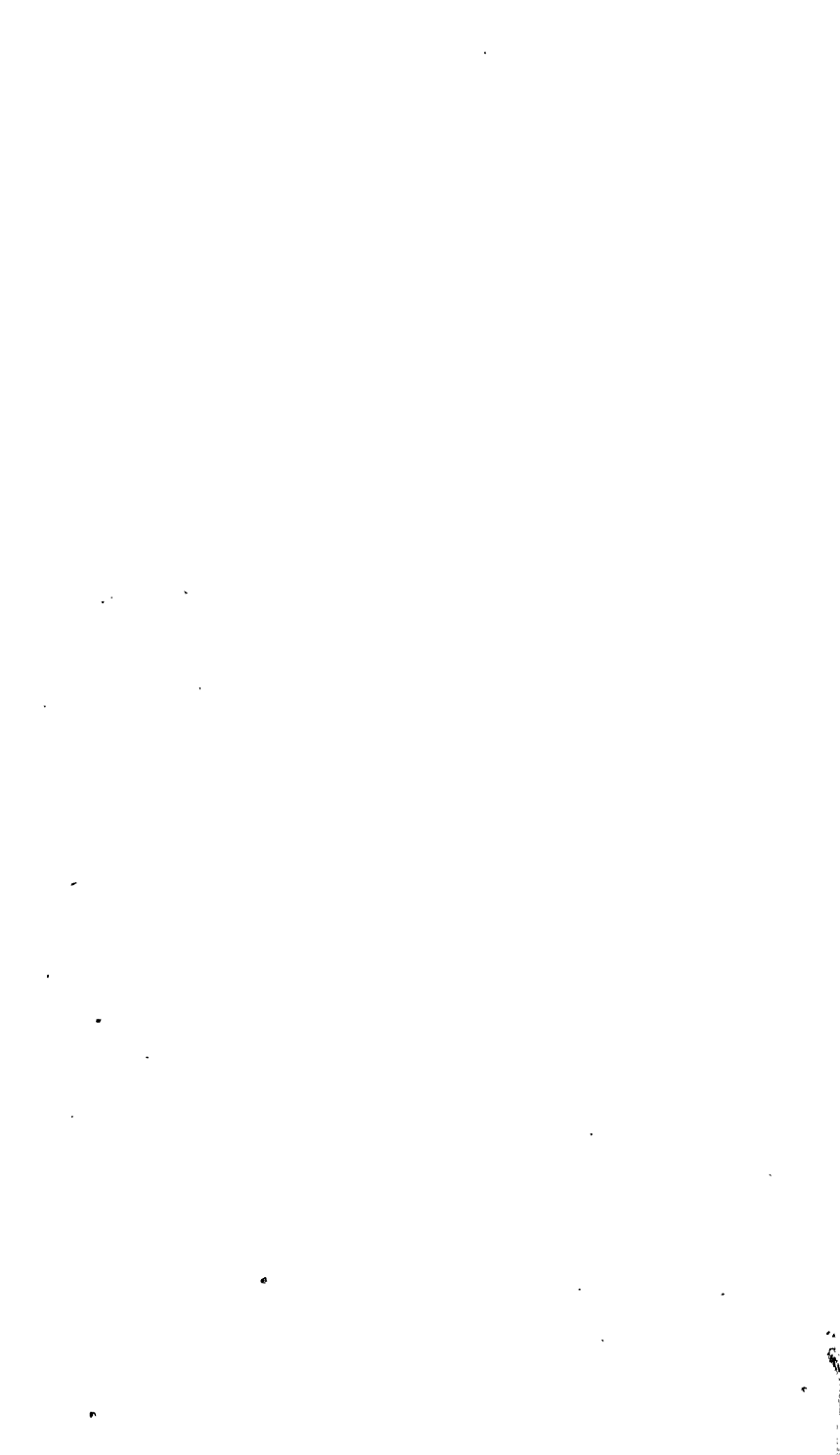
4. *Obv.*—Same; behind, cornucopiæ, bucranium, scallop (?), ear of barley, &c.

*Rev.*—Bull, butting, left, with letters ΑΓ, ΑΙ, Δ, Ε, ΝΙ, ΝΙ Ο, Π, ΣΑ, ΣΩ, and symbols, dolphin, trident, spear, &c. *Æ.* .7. (Pl. VIII. 11, 12.)



SYRACUSE.

ACATHOCLES, PERIOD I. B.C. 317-310.



The reverses of the gold drachms and silver tetradrachms of this period bear a close resemblance to one another in style, and they each have the triquetra, the symbol of Sicily. The obverse of the gold diobol is the same as that of the tetradrachm, its equivalent in value, and the bull (the symbol of the river Anapos?) upon the reverse recurs upon the copper. Many of the letters and monograms are common both to the tetradrachms and the copper of this period, and some, such as **ΑΓ**, **ΝΙ**, and **Ε**, have already been seen on the last copper coinage of the Democracy before Agathokles, p. 31.

A cursory examination of the Corinthian staters struck in Sicily will be sufficient to convince the student of Greek numismatics that they must have been issued at different periods. I would propose to divide them into four distinct classes, of which the first two only maintain their full weight. The subsequent issues are degradations of the original Corinthian stater. The following is my classification of these pieces, each of which will be more minutely described in its proper place:—<sup>54</sup>

1st.—Staters of full weight (135 grs.) with **ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ** on the obverse. Helmet without crest or griffin (described above, p. 28). This was the stater as introduced by Timoleon and struck B.C. 344—317. (Pl. VI. 7.)

2nd.—Staters of full weight (135 grs.) with **ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ** on the reverse; helmet with crest and griffin, and triquetra on reverse. Of later style than the previous class, and issued during the early part of the reign of Agathokles, B.C. 317—310. (Pl. VIII. 5, 6.)

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<sup>54</sup> On the dates of the issue of some of the colonial staters of Corinth, see Kenner, *Münzsammlung des Stiftes St. Florian*, p. 49, sqq. Also R. Rochette, *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.*, 1829, p. 334, who supposes it to have continued for not less than a century after its first commencement on the occasion of the expedition of Timoleon.

3rd.—Pieces of the weight of eight litræ (108 grs.), tenths of the gold stater of 90 grs. (80 litræ) without any inscription. Helmet without crest or griffin; triquetra beneath or star above Pegasos. B.C. 306—289. (Pl. IX. 11, 12.)

4th.—Pieces of 90 grs. (standard of Pyrrhos) with the types of the earlier pieces, and inscription **ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ**. (Pl. XI. 2.) Coins of the same weight and type struck at Tauromenium with **TAYPOMENITAN**.

I would attribute the series No. 2 to the early years of the reign of Agathokles, both on account of the triquetra, which seems to occur for the first time under his rule, and on account of the great resemblance of the head of Pallas on this class to the somewhat later gold coins of Agathokles with the same head. I would not, however, make them contemporary with the gold, as Agathokles seems during his later years to have coined all money either with his own name and title or without any inscription whatever. **ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ** never occurs after his adoption of the regal title. The stater of this period is characterized by the flatter and more ornate style of the work. The goddess wears a necklace, as on the gold piece of 90 grains: the Pegasos is more delicately treated, his head being smaller, back somewhat shorter, and action more elegant.

## PERIOD II. B.C. 310—307.

*Obv.*—Youthful head, right, wearing elephant's skin.

*Rev.*—**ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ**. Winged Pallas, right, armed with shield, helmet, and spear. At her feet an owl. *A.* stater (weight of Attic didrachm). Royal cabinet of Vienna. Num. Zeitsch., iii. Pl. v. No. 2.

This unique gold piece, evidently struck after B.C. 310, is thought to allude to the victory gained by Agathokles

over the Carthaginians in Africa (Diod., xxii. 11), in which he let fly a number of owls, the favourite birds of Athena, which perched upon the shields and helmets of the soldiers, and reassured their fainting spirits (Num. Zeitsch., iii. p. 43). The Attic weight of this coin, combined with the absence of the regal title, distinctly proves that he struck gold on that standard before the issue of his better-known pieces of 90 grains, which belong to the third period of his reign, and affords another argument in favour of my attribution of the gold Attic drachms, &c., to the first period, 317—310.

The types of this coin are similar to those of the contemporary tetradrachms of Alexander Aegos (2nd coinage), struck by Ptolemy I. Unlike the silver money of the same period, this piece has **ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ** in the genitive, while the word **ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ** on the silver is an adjective, probably in agreement with **ΝΙΚΗ**, expressed in the type.<sup>55</sup> Hence we may infer that these gold pieces were issued under the sole authority of Agathokles, the city of Syracuse still retaining for itself the right of coinage in silver and copper, a privilege which, as regards silver, seems to have been of short duration, for the name of Syracuse, as we shall presently see, soon disappears from the tetradrachm, its place being supplied by that of the goddess (**ΚΟΡΑΣ**). The right of striking copper may have lasted until B.C. 307, when the commune of Syracuse seems to have been robbed of this last prerogative, the gold and copper issued after that date bearing the inscription **ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ**, and the Corinthian staters being struck without any inscription whatever; for Agathokles

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<sup>55</sup> Kenner, Münzsammlung des Stiftes St. Florian, p. 15.



apparently never ventured to place his own name upon these pieces, the types of which were perhaps traditionally connected in the popular mind with the democratic institutions of Timoleon, by whom they were first introduced from Corinth.

## SILVER.

1. *Obv.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**. Head of Persephone, with flowing hair.

*Rev.*—**ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ**. Nike erecting trophy; in field, triquetra.  $\mathcal{R}.1$ ; Attic tetradrachms of fine workmanship. (Pl. IX. 1.)

2. *Obv.*—**ΚΟΡΑΣ**. Same type.

*Rev.*—**ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ**. Same; in field, triquetra and  $\Lambda$ .  $\mathcal{R}.1$ ; Attic tetradrachms of fine work. (Pl. IX. 2)

3. *Obv.*—**ΚΟΡΑΣ**.  
*Rev.*—**ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ** } Same types.  $\mathcal{R}.1$ ; Attic tetradrachms of barbarous work.

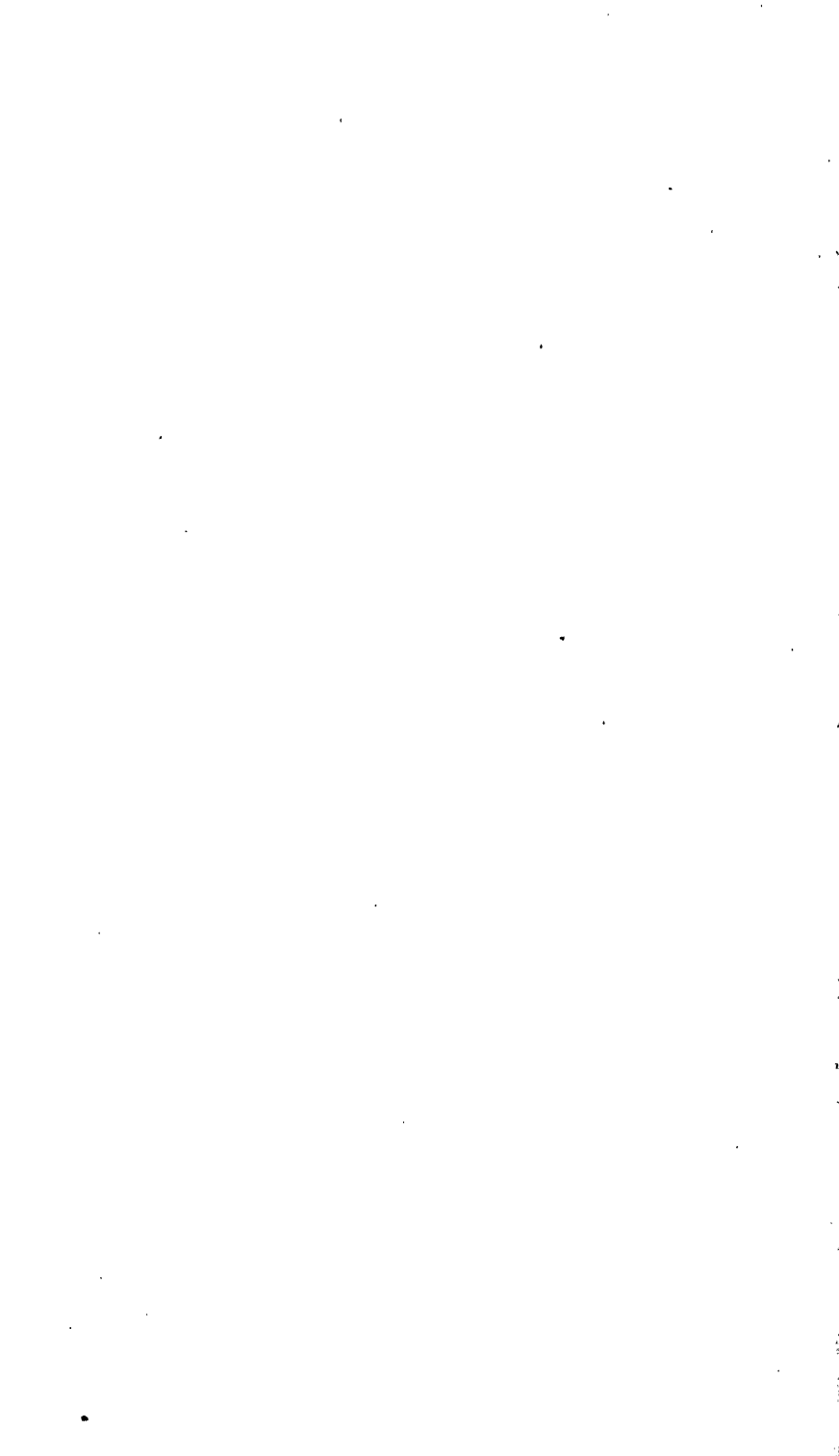
The tetradrachms with **ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ** may be divided into three classes<sup>56</sup>: 1st, with **ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**, of good work, and issued by the city authorities, and before the right of coining silver was usurped by Agathokles. These are the last silver coins struck during his reign which bear the name of the city. 2nd, Tetradrachms, also of good work, but without **ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**, though probably coined at Syracuse. 3rd, Tetradrachms with the same type, but of barbarous fabric, and very likely struck in Africa, where the same care could not be bestowed upon them as at Syracuse. The reverse type of all these pieces clearly alludes to the victorious campaign of Agathokles in Africa, which led to his adoption of the title *Βασιλεύς*. They are the last

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Kenner, Münzsammlung des Stiftes St. Florian, pp. 13—16.



SYRACUSE.

AGATHOCLES. PERIODS II & III. B.C. 310-289. DEMOCRACY. B.C. 289-287.



pieces of the weight of the Attic tetradrachm (and some even of these were issued of light weight) which we meet with in the series of the coins of Syracuse, unless, indeed, we include the fine tetradrachm of Pyrrhos with the head of Zeus Dodonæos in the Syracusan series. From some cause or other, the weight system of the silver coinage underwent a complete change, though the litra was still maintained as the unit. The Corinthian staters of full Attic weight, noticed under the previous period, were discontinued, if not before, at any rate at the same time as the tetradrachms, the occurrence of **ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ** upon them rendering it highly improbable that they are later than B.C. 310 or 308, all subsequent coins of this type being of much lighter weight, and without **ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**, as we shall presently see.

On the tetradrachms with **ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ** a new conception of the head of Persephone, viz., one with long, flowing hair, was introduced. This type is adhered to at Syracuse down to the close of the reign of Hieron II. The same monogram, **Α** occurs on some of these tetradrachms as on those of the first period, 317—310, which are without **ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ**.

## COPPER.

1. *Obv.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**. Head of Herakles (?) diademed, right; behind, bow, cornucopiæ, tripod, star, &c.  
*Rev.*—Lion; above which, club; in exergue, arrow, torch, **ΣΤΡ**, &c. Æ. .85—·7. (Pl. IX. 3.)
2. *Obv.*—**ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ**. Head of Artemis, right, with quiver.  
*Rev.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**. Thunderbolt. Æ. .85. (Pl. IX. 4.)
3. *Obv.*—Same head, left.  
*Rev.*—Similar to preceding. Æ. .6. (Pl. IX. 5.)

4. *Obv.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**. Head of Pallas, right, in crested Corinthian helmet, with griffin on crown and no neck-piece. She wears necklace; behind, trophy.  
*Rev.*—Pegasos flying, left; beneath, trident. Æ. .85. (Pl. IX. 7.)
5. *Obv.*—Similar head.  
*Rev.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**. Horseman, right, wearing "Phrygian" helmet, and with couched spear. Æ. .8. (Pl. IX. 6.)
6. Similar; behind head, owl; beneath, horseman, Φ. Æ. .65. (Pl. IX. 8.)
7. *Obv.*—Head of Pallas in Corinthian helmet, right.  
*Rev.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**. Thunderbolt. Æ. .55. (Pl. IX. 9.)

Of the above-described copper types it may be remarked that the lion on the reverse of No. 1 may symbolize the African victories of Agathokles. This type occurs also at Messana, before its capture by the Mamertines in B.C. 282. I cannot therefore agree with Torremuzza, who attributes a specimen with the letters **ΣΩΣΙΣ** in the exergue to Sostratos, or Sosistratos, who was tyrant at Syracuse and other Sicilian cities, about 278, just before the arrival of Pyrrhos.

The head of Artemis Soteira, on No. 2, is again seen with the name of Agathokles on the copper of the next period. The head of Pallas on Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7 recurs upon the gold staters of the next period. The horseman upon Nos. 5 and 6 bears a superficial resemblance to the well-known copper type of Hieron II.; but the superiority in the style of these pieces to that of Hieron's coins, as well as the great similarity of the head of Pallas on the obverse to that of the gold staters of Agathokles are convincing proofs that they belong to the time of Agathokles.

## PERIOD III., B.C. 307—289.

In B.C. 307 Agathokles assumed the title *Βασιλεύς*, in imitation perhaps of Antigonos, who had adopted the title "King of Asia" in the same year.

## GOLD.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Pallas in crested Corinthian helmet adorned with griffin, right. She wears necklace.

*Rev.*—**ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ.** Thunderbolt, with letters **Π**, **Φ**, **Ε**, **Σ**, &c. *Æ.* .65; wt. 90 grs. (Pl. IX. 10.)

## SILVER.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Pallas in plain Corinthian helmet without crest or griffin. She wears necklace.

*Rev.*—Pegasos, left; beneath, triquetra. *Æ.* .75; full wt. 108 grs. (Pl. IX. 11.)

2. *Obv.*—Similar; helmet without neck-piece; behind, owl.

*Rev.*—Same, but no triquetra; above, star. *Æ.* .8; full wt. 108 grs. (Pl. IX. 12.)

## COPPER.

1. *Obv.*—**ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ.** Bust of Artemis with quiver, right.

*Rev.*—**ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ.** Thunderbolt. *Æ.* .85—.75. (Pl. IX. 13.)

The obverse type of the gold stater was evidently borrowed from that of the Corinthian silver staters. The weight is no longer Attic, but that of the old Dionysian gold stater, 90 grains, and therefore (if, as I imagine, gold was at this period as 1:12) no longer equal to 100 *litraë*, but to 80; in other words, no longer equivalent to 5 tetradrachms, but to 4, or rather to 10 silver pieces of 8 *litraë*, as it is probable that no tetradrachms were struck during this period.

The 8 *litraë* pieces of silver may be distinguished from the

staters as introduced by Timoleon, and from those of the second issue in the early part of the reign of Agathokles, not only by their diminished size and weight, but in the following particulars. The helmet of the goddess, though plain and without crest, as on those of the earliest issue, has no covering for the ear, which is visible, and has an ear-ring. The neck-piece is sometimes wanting, as on the gold, and the goddess wears a necklace. The Pegasos on the reverse differs from that on the pieces of the previous issue in that both wings are generally visible. There is no inscription on the coins of this issue, whence we may infer that the right of coining them had been taken away from the city. The weight also is reduced from 135 grains to 108, so that they are exactly tenths of the gold piece ( $90 \times 12 = 1080$ ).

#### IX. DEMOCRACY, B.C. 289—287.

On the death of Agathokles republican institutions were returned to, but only for about two years, to which period I would attribute the following copper types, both of which bear a strong resemblance to the copper of Agathokles:—

1. *Obv.*—**ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ**. Bust of Artemis, left.

*Rev.*—**ΔΙΟΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΥ**. Thunderbolt. Æ. .8.  
(Pl. IX. 14.)

2. *Obv.*—**ΔΙΟΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΥ**. Head of Zeus Eleutherios, left, hair in curls.

*Rev.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**. Thunderbolt. Æ. .8. (Pl. IX. 15.)

The last type must not be confused with the somewhat similar one of Timoleon's time (see above, Timoleon, copper, No. 9). (Pl. VII. 10.) The resemblance is a

superficial one, both style and fabric being of the Agathoklean period.

#### X. HIKETAS, B.C. 287—278.

Very little time elapsed before Hiketas, who was in command of the Syracusan army, established himself in the supreme power. Not much is known of the events of his tyranny, which lasted nine years, probably from B.C. 287—278.

The only coins which bear his name are the gold pieces of 60 litræ; full weight, 67·5 grains.

*Obv.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head of Persephone, left, crowned with corn, hair short and curly; behind, various symbols, bee, poppy-head, long torch, cornucopiæ, &c., with occasionally letters, ΘΕ, &c.

*Rev.*—ΕΠΙ ΙΚΕΤΑ. Biga, right, driven by winged Nike, naked to waist; above horses, various symbols, a large circle with one side thick, a star or a thunderbolt; beneath horses, Θ, Σ, or ear of corn. *N.* .65: full wt. 67·5 grs. (Pl. X. 1, 2.)

The style of these coins forms a link between the first gold of Agathokles without his name (Pl. VIII. 1), and those of Hieron II. (Pl. XI. 1.)

The silver which I would give to the time of Hiketas do not, like the gold, bear his name; but the similarity of the reverse type, and the occurrence of some of the same symbols, such as the unusual one of a bee or fly, constitute evidence sufficient to justify us in classing them to the same period. The Attic tetradrachm was discontinued after the death of Agathokles, the silver coins of Hiketas being pieces of 15 litræ, or tridrachms, full weight 202·5 grains.<sup>57</sup> The type of Persephone, first

<sup>57</sup> The peculiar weight of these pieces was first remarked by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, Berl. Blatt., v. 58. Mommsen does not seem to have noticed it.



introduced in the silver of Agathokles, viz., that with the long hair, is preserved.

Four of these 15 litræ pieces would be equivalent to one gold drachm.

*Obv.*—Head of Persephone, left, with long hair, crowned with corn; behind, bee, amphora, X, &c.

*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Quadriga, left, driven by winged Nike; above horses, star. *Æ.* 1; wt. 201—191 grs. (Pl. X. 3, 4.)

The copper coins which I would attribute to the time of Hiketas are of two distinct types: (A) Head of Persephone; *Rev.* Biga. (B) Head of Zeus Hellenios; *Rev.* Eagle.

#### A.

*Obv.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head of Persephone, generally accompanied by symbols, ear of corn, torch, or poppy-head.

*Rev.*—Biga driven by female charioteer (wingless Nike?); above, generally star, sometimes thunderbolt, less frequently with no symbol. In the exergue the following letters and monograms occur, Α, Α, Ε, ΕΧ, Κ, Γ, ΓΟΥ, ΠΧ, Σ, ΣΩ; and often, in addition to these and generally smaller, the letters Ν and Τ in the field. *Æ.* 9—8. (Pl. X. 5, 6.)

These coins resemble on the obverse the silver of the same period, and belong to the early part of the reign of Hiketas before about B.C. 282, as will appear in the discussion of the next type.

#### B.

*Obv.*—ΔΙΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΟΥ. Head of Zeus Hellenios, beardless and laureate; behind, symbols, bucranium, trophy or club.

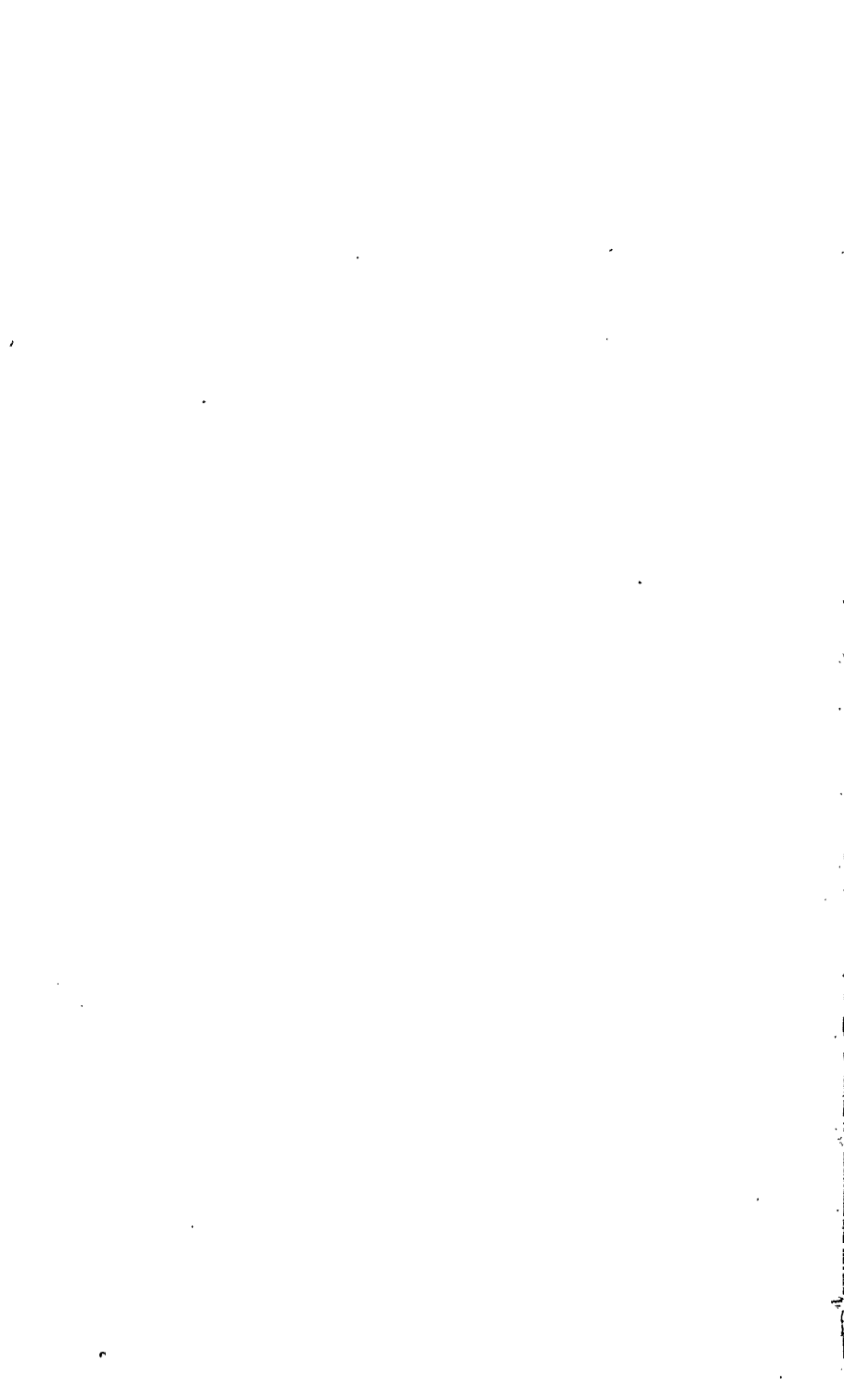
*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Eagle on thunderbolt; in field, often Α and star, together or singly, and on one specimen Φ. *Æ.* 9—8. (Pl. X. 7, 8.)



AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

SYRACUSE

HIKETAS. B.C. 287-278. PYRRHOS B.C. 276-275



As this was the type adopted by the Mamertines after their seizure of Messana in B.C. 282, and as it is not found at Messana previously to that date, we are justified in supposing this copper series of Syracuse to be a contemporary coinage, and to have been issued between about B.C. 282 and 278. Coins of this type are often struck over pieces of type A (Head of Persephone; *Rev.* Biga), a clear proof that it is a subsequent issue. The copper of Agathokles (*Obv.* Head of Soteira; *Rev.* Thunderbolt) are also often used as *flans* on which to strike coins of this type.

#### XI. PYRRHOS, B.C. 278—276.

Hiketas was expelled from his sovereignty at Syracuse by Thynion, who installed himself in the island of Ortygia, while Sostratos was master of the rest of the city. These two, weary of mutual contention, sent a deputation to Pyrrhos of Epirus, then in Italy. (Diod., xxii.)

The Syracusans were at this time hard pressed by the Carthaginians, and their last hope was in Pyrrhos, who had married Lanassa, a daughter of their old tyrant, Agathokles. The entry of Pyrrhos into Sicily was opposed by the Mamertines, who allied themselves with Carthage; but he was favoured by Tyndarion, tyrant of Tauromenium, at which place he effected a landing in safety. Thence he proceeded to Syracuse, the reins of government having been given up to him by Thynion and Sostratos, B.C. 278.

From this time until 276 he waged a successful war against the Carthaginians, and united under his sway nearly all the Greek cities of the island. Nevertheless, his rule in Sicily was not of long duration; and when he left again for Italy, his Sicilian kingdom was already

crumbling beneath his feet. We possess, however, in his coins a record of his brief reign in the island; and though it is difficult to say positively which of the gold, silver, and copper bearing his name were struck in Sicily, which in Italy, and which in Greece itself, we can point out coins in each of these metals which are indubitably of Sicilian work. Among these the most striking are the silver and copper bearing the head of Persephone with flowing hair, evidently copied from the silver coins of the time of Hiketas. On the reverse is **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ** and Athena Alkis, a Macedonian type, which first occurs on the coins of Alexander Ægos, struck by Ptolemy I. about thirty years previously, and is afterwards often reproduced on the money of Antigonos Gonatas, B.C. 277—239, and Philip V., 220—179. Leake,<sup>58</sup> who, in common with other numismatists of his time, attributes the tetradrachms of Alexander Ægos to Alexander II. of Epirus, the son of Pyrrhos, is of opinion that Pyrrhos adopted this type, after the victory which he gained, B.C. 274, over Antigonos Gonatas at a pass in Upper Macedonia,<sup>59</sup> which gave him possession of Macedonia and all Thessaly, on which occasion he dedicated the shields of the Gallic mercenaries of Antigonos who were slain or taken, in the temple of Athena Itonis.<sup>60</sup> This Athena Itonis was the principal deity of Thessaly. Now as these coins of Pyrrhos are of Sicilian work, and struck B.C. 278—276 (Mommsen, ed. Blacas, p. 284), it is clear that the dedication above mentioned cannot have been the origin of this coin type, and it is no less clear that it must be sought for thirty years before this in connection with the coins of Alexander Ægos struck by

<sup>58</sup> Num. Hell. Kings, p. 18.

<sup>59</sup> Plutarch, Pyrr., 26.

<sup>60</sup> Diod., xxii. 11.

Ptolemy in Ægypt. This figure of Pallas is not therefore likely to be the Thessalian Itonis, but the Macedonian Athena Alkis, venerated in the royal city of Pella, the capital of Macedon, and the birth-place of Alexander the Great (Livy, xlii. 51), and consequently adopted as a symbol of sovereignty over Macedon; first, on the coins struck for the young prince, Alexander Ægos, the son and rightful heir of Alexander the Great, and afterwards by Pyrrhos, Antigonos, and Philip V. A similar type recurs on the coins of Thessaly *in genere* at a later period; but even here it is not clear that it is a representation of the Thessalian goddess, as we do not find it previously to the incorporation of that province with Macedon.

But to return to Syracuse. It is not necessary for my present purpose to determine which coins of Pyrrhos were struck in Sicily; but rather to fix the date, by means of his coins, of certain Syracusan pieces which do not bear his name, but which appear to have been struck under his rule. These are the following:—

1. *Obv.*—Head of Persephone with flowing hair, left; behind, torch.  
*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Nike in biga, right. *N.* full wt. 67·5 grs. (Pl. X. 9.)
2. *Obv.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Same head; behind, ear of barley.  
*Rev.*—Torch in oak wreath. *Æ.* .1. (Pl. X. 10.)
3. *Obv.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head of Herakles in lion's skin, left.  
*Rev.*—Pallas Promachos; in field, wreath, thunderbolt, trident or owl. *Æ.* .9—85.
4. Similar, but with inscription on the reverse. *Æ.* .9—85. (Pl. X. 11.)

The first of these pieces I attribute to the period of the rule of Pyrrhos solely on account of its type, which is

similar to that of the gold of Hieron II., and might be taken for a coin of that monarch were it not that his gold coins always bear his name. This coin may therefore have been struck shortly before the accession of Hieron. Of the two copper types, the first may with safety be attributed to the time of Pyrrhos, on account of the oak-wreath on the reverse which encircles the torch of Persephone—the symbols respectively of the principal deities of Epirus and Syracuse.

With respect to the second copper type, *Obv.* Head of Herakles; *Rev.* Pallas Promachos (Athena Alkis), both types are so manifestly Macedonian, that it is evident that the piece must have been struck during the reign of Pyrrhos. The head of Herakles is probably borrowed from the well-known coinage of Alexander the Great, although it may contain a more direct allusion to the games and sacrifices celebrated by Pyrrhos in honour of Herakles after his capture of the city of Eryx, shortly after his arrival in Sicily.<sup>61</sup> The reverse type is similar to the silver of Pyrrhos above described (p. 56). A specimen of this type in the British Museum is re-struck over a coin of Agathokles with his name.

It is probable that the money of Pyrrhos with the inscription **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ** was intended for circulation throughout his dominions in Italy, as well as in Sicily; for his silver above described, although struck in Sicily, weigh about 90 grains, and are consequently not multiples of the silver litra of 13·5 grains, but foreign to the Sicilian system. Mommsen's hypothesis to account for this is that they were struck upon the old gold standard of Dionysios and Agathokles, the adoption of which

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<sup>61</sup> Plutarch, *Pyrr.*, xxii.; *Diod.*, xxii. 10, 8.

for the silver currency he explains by supposing the unit of account or copper *litra* to have been reduced to  $\frac{1}{12}$ th of its former value.<sup>62</sup>

In the time of Agathokles the *nummus* or silver *litra* of 13·5 grains was equal to 10 *litra*e of account or pounds of copper (see p. 13). The gold piece of Agathokles of 90 grains would, therefore, if we accept the proportionate value of 1 : 12, have been equal to 80 silver *litra*e or 800 pounds of copper.<sup>63</sup>

Now, supposing the pound of copper to have been reduced in the time of Pyrrhos to  $\frac{1}{12}$ th of its former value, a silver piece of 90 grains which would formerly have been equal to 6·6 silver *litra*e, or  $66\frac{2}{3}$  pounds of copper, would now represent 400 pounds of copper, or exactly half what I suppose the gold of Agathokles of the same weight to have been originally worth; so that *two* of these *silver* pieces of Pyrrhos weighing 90 grains could now be legally offered in payment of a debt of *one gold* stater of 90 grains contracted before this reduction in the unit of account, while twelve would be necessary to pay a debt of the same amount contracted after the reduction.

Again, the gold drachm, formerly equal to 600 pounds of copper, would now be worth 3,600, or nine silver pieces of 90 grains.<sup>63</sup>

But, whether we accept or not Mommsen's arguments

<sup>62</sup> Mommsen, ed. Blacas, vol. i. pp. 128, 133.

<sup>63</sup> Mommsen adopts the old rate of 1 : 15, according to which the gold stater of Agathokles of 90 grs. would be equal to 100 *Æ.* *litra*e or 1,000 *Æ.* *litra*e, and, after the reduction, to 6,000; while the gold drachm would be equal to 4,500, or 11 $\frac{1}{2}$  silver pieces of 90 grs. This fraction seems to me improbable, and another argument in favour of the proportion of gold to silver as 1 : 12.



in favour of a temporary reduction at Syracuse of the litra of account to a sixth of its former value, the proportionate values of gold and silver as 1 : 12 were probably not affected, so that in either case nine silver coins of Pyrrhos of 90 grains would go to one gold drachm of 67·5 grains, while three would exchange for a silver tetradrachm.

These pieces may, therefore, for convenience sake be called oktobols. Coins of the same weight were also struck at Tauromenium with the type of the Corinthian stater;<sup>64</sup> at Syracuse by Hieron II., also with the Corinthian types (Pl. XI. 2); and by the Bruttii. There are also pieces of Agrigentum which, perhaps, belong to the same system (Mommson, *ed.* Blacas, p. 284), but it seems to have taken no root in Sicily, for Hieron soon returned to the silver litra of 13·5 as the basis of the silver currency. Among the Bruttii, however, the copper litra seems never to have recovered its ancient value, but rather to have undergone further reduction, as the successive diminutions in the weight of the silver coins demonstrate. (Mommson, *ed.* Blacas, p. 133.)

## XII. HIERON II., B.C. 275—216.

The departure of Pyrrhos, in B.C. 275, left the Syracusans, for a short time, without a leader, until Hieron, a young Syracusan officer who had served under Pyrrhos, was elected general of the army.

He soon obtained great power in the councils of the Republic, and after his victory over the Mamertines, in B.C. 270, the title βασιλεύς was conferred upon him.

His long reign, B.C. 275—216, is, on the whole, one of

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<sup>64</sup> Torremuzza, Pl. lxxxvii. 4.

peace and great prosperity, which affords but few materials for history. His government was remarkably mild and equitable, and we read<sup>65</sup> that both he and his son Gelon avoided all display of royal power. Hence it has been suggested that the heads on the coins bearing the names of Hieron and Gelon may be traditional portraits of Gelon I., from whom Hieron claimed descent;<sup>66</sup> but this cannot be proved.

The following are the coins of Hieron,

GOLD.

*Obv.*—Head of Persephone with flowing hair; behind, ear of corn, cornucopiæ, filleted palm, poppy, wing, torch, sea-horse, crescent, wreath, bucranium, star, altar.

*Rev.*—ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ. Biga, right, driven by female charioteer (sometimes by winged Nike); generally with letters in field Α, Α, ΑΦ, Ε, ΚΙ. *Æ.* .65; full wt. 67·5 grs. (Pl. XI. 1.)

This series probably extends over a large number of years, as, notwithstanding the uniformity of type, various differences are noticeable in the style.

CLASS A.—SILVER, WITH ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ.

*Obv.*—Head of Pallas, left, in crested Corinthian helmet; behind, wing.

*Rev.*—ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ. Pegasos flying; beneath, sometimes, Π. *Æ.* .8; wt. 86 grs. (Pl. XI. 2.)

These coins seem to belong to the early years of Hieron's reign only, as they are so scarce as to render it very improbable that they were issued during many years.

<sup>65</sup> Livy, xxiv. 5. Polyb., vii. 8.

<sup>66</sup> Leake, Trans. R. Soc. Lit., series ii. vol. iii. p. 370.

The weight, also, which is that of the coins of Pyrrhos, confirms this hypothesis. The types adopted are those of the Corinthian staters of the time of Timoleon and Agathokles, now no longer struck at Syracuse. There are pieces of Tauromenium, probably issued at the same time, which belong to the same system, weighing about 90 grains,<sup>67</sup> and with the same old Corinthian types.

CLASS B.—SILVER, WITH **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ** AND  
PORTRAIT.

*Obv.*—Beardless male head, diademed, left; behind, ear of corn, star, &c.; beneath, sometimes Φ.

*Rev.*—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ**. Quadriga, right, driven by winged Nike; in field above, sometimes star, and beneath, letters **E** or **K**.  $\mathcal{R}$ . 1.35; full wt. 432 grs. (Pl. XI. 3.)

This is a piece of 32 silver litræ, and belongs to the silver standard, based upon the litra as a unit, a system which, as Mommsen infers from the weight of the coins of Pyrrhos, and of the first silver of Hieron, must have been for a time abandoned at Syracuse.

The above are the only silver coins which bear the name of Hieron. Now the piece of 90 grains evidently belongs to the first years only of his reign, and the fine medallion described above is too large a piece to be the ordinary silver money of the state, and it may be compared rather with the dekadrachm of an earlier period; where, then, are the silver coins which must have been issued in large quantities during the half-century of prosperity under Hieron II.?

In my opinion, they are those with the names of Gelon

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<sup>67</sup> Mommsen, ed. Blacas, vol. i. p. 128, note 3.



SYRACUSE

HIERON II. GELON AND PHILISTIS. B.C. 275-216.



and Philistis; the former was the son of Hieron, and died before his father; the latter, who bore the title **ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ**, but is not mentioned by name in history, was probably his wife, the daughter of a wealthy citizen named Leptines.

CLASS C.—SILVER, WITH **ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ** AND PORTRAIT.

1. *Obv.*—Beardless male head, wearing diadem; behind, sometimes a strung bow.

*Rev.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ**. Biga, right, driven by Nike; in field, generally **BA** with other letters, **AΦ**, **E**, **K**, **MI**; sometimes **A** or **Σ** without **BA**.  $\mathcal{A}$ . .85; wt. 108 grs. (8 litræ). (Pl. XI. 4.)

2. *Obv.*—Same type.

*Rev.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ**. Eagle on thunderbolt with closed wings; in field, **BA** with other letters, **E**, **K**, or **Φ**.  $\mathcal{A}$ . .65; wt. 54 grs. (4 litræ). (Pl. XI. 5.)

These pieces of 8 and 4 litræ are not uncommon, and, as I think, constitute the ordinary small silver currency of Hieron's reign. The head upon the obverse may be a traditional portrait of Gelon I., or it may be intended as a portrait of the son of Hieron. The reverse inscription, with the first word in the nominative case, **ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ**, is worthy of remark, and on this peculiarity Leake bases his conjecture that they were struck after the death of Hieronymos, "when the party who had opposed him may have been so much the more anxious to show their respect for the memory of Gelon, as they were in the act of destroying all the family of Hieron II." <sup>68</sup>

This appears to me to be altogether a gratuitous hypo-

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<sup>68</sup> Transactions R. S. L., series ii. vol. iii.

thesis. Moreover, the coins are both too numerous and differ in style too much among themselves to be the issue of so short a period as intervened between the assassination of Hieronymos and the capture of the city by the Romans. They are evidently contemporary with the Philistis series. Mommsen,<sup>69</sup> however, agrees with Leake, and attributes not only these coins of Gelon and Philistis, but also the large medallions of Hieron with **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ**, to the reign of Hieronymos. He does not admit a single silver coin which is not either of Attic weight or of the standard introduced by Pyrrhos (90 grains), to be anterior to the death of Hieron in B.C. 216, about which time he says that the new multiples of the *litra*—viz., the pieces of 2, 4, 6, 8, 12, 16, 24, and 32 *litra*—were first introduced. Consequently, he assigns to the reign of Hieronymos and after, not only the coins which bear the name of Hieronymos himself, but also all those with **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ**, **ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ**, **ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΔΟΣ**, as well as all the autonomous silver which are not of Attic weight, including, I suppose, the pieces of 15 *litra* which I have above attributed to the time of Hiktas. Many of these coins are by no means rare, and it follows that to the long reign of Hieron (fifty years) he would assign only the rare piece of 90 grains, while to the short reign of Hieronymos (one year), and the few years which follow, he would give all the numerous series above mentioned. This theory is, in my opinion, unsupported by adequate evidence.

3. *Obv.*—Bust of Hieron or Gelon, left, diademed.

**ΣΥΡΑ**

*Rev.*— **XII** *Æ.* .3 (*litra*).

**ΚΟΣΙΟΙ**

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<sup>69</sup> Ed. Blacas, p. 113.

This remarkable coin, which is, I believe, perfectly genuine, is very similar to the one engraved in Castelli

ΣΥΡΑ

XII

(Tab. 97), with

ΚΟΣΙΟΙ

the existence of which

ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ

Mommsen and others have doubted. I discovered it some time ago lying unnoticed in the cabinet of the late H. N. Davis, Esq. The XII on the reverse is doubly valuable, in the first place as proving that the Roman numerals began to be used at Syracuse as early as the latter part of the reign of Hieron, and that they were not introduced for the first time after the capture of the city by the Romans, as Mommsen supposes; and in the second place as showing that the copper *litra* had undergone a third reduction since the second recorded by Aristotle as τὸ ὑστερον, the silver *litra* being now equivalent to twelve copper *litræ* instead of to ten, as formerly (see p. 13). This reduction, which probably took place during the reign of Hieron, was doubtless only the commencement of a still further reduction of which we possess evidence in the numerals ·XIII on the silver *litra* of a somewhat later period, which latter mark of value has been interpreted by Mommsen as signifying 13½ copper *litræ*. I shall recur to this final reduction later on, when I come to describe the coins of the Democracy after the death of Hieronymos.

CLASS D.—SILVER, WITH NAME AND PORTRAIT OF PHILISTIS.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Philistis, veiled.

*Rev.*—ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΔΟΣ. Quadriga driven by Nike: *Æ.* 1; pieces of 18 and 16 *litræ*, full weights, respectively, 248 and 216 grs. (Pl. XI. 6—9.)



Symbols, &c., behind head on *obverse*, ear of barley, filleted palm, cornucopiæ and Σ, wreath and Σ, large leaf, vase, palm, torch, star, thyrsos, spear-head, wreath.

Letters, &c., on *reverse*, Φ, ΣΜ, Α, Κ, Φ, Ε, star and Κ; ΚΙ and ear of corn; crescent, ΚΙ, and ear of corn; Σ, crescent and Α; ΜΙ.

The horses of the quadriga are sometimes galloping and sometimes walking.

2. *Obv.*—Same type; behind, palm, star, or leaf.

*Rev.*—ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΔΟΣ. Biga driven by Nike, with letters Ε, Κ, or ΜΙ. *AR.* .8; full wt. 67.5 grs. (5 litræ). (Pl. XI. 10.)

In my opinion the above-described coins are the ordinary silver currency of Hieron, issued, probably, throughout a long series of years during the middle and latter part of his reign, the varieties being far too numerous to be the issue of a single year, as Mommsen would have it. The multiples of the litra which occur are 18 (?) 16, and 5. The piece of 18 litræ is perhaps rather a very light tetradrachm, than a piece of so unusual a weight as 18 litræ. The veiled head may be compared with the head on the coins bearing the name of Phthia on the copper of Pyrrhos, and with that of Arsinoë on the contemporary Ægyptian coinage.

It is consistent with what we know of Hieron's habitual modesty (Livy, l. c.) that he did not place his own head upon his coins, either of gold or silver (if we except the large piece of 32 litræ, which may perhaps be regarded in the light rather of a medal than a coin), but preferred rather to perpetuate the memory of his wife, the daughter of a private citizen, and on that account probably less obnoxious to the democratic party in the state, and of his son, who bore the illustrious name of Gelon.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Since the above has been written I find that M. Salinas is of my opinion with regard to the Philistis series. In the *Periodico di Numismatica e Sfragistica*, i. p. 197, sqq., he combats Mommsen's theory.

## CLASS E.—GOLD AND SILVER, WITH ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΑΝ.

To the reign of Hieron I would also attribute the series of gold and silver coins with ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΑΝ engraved by Salinas (*Mon. dell. ant. Citt. della Sicilia*, Pl. i.). The gold piece is of the usual weight of the gold of Hieron, and the silver are pieces of 8 (Pl. XI. 11), 4, and 2 litræ.

Raoul Rochette<sup>71</sup> attributes them to the time of Pyrrhos; but his arguments in favour of this opinion are far from convincing. The style of these pieces is contemporary with the Philistis series, and when we take into consideration their weight, which is not that of the coins of Pyrrhos or even of the early years of Hieron, there can be no longer a doubt that they belong to the reign of the latter. Alessi<sup>72</sup> thinks that they were struck on the occasion of the peace concluded between Hieron and the Romans, in B.C. 263. This is far more probable than R. Rochette's theory. I would, however, prefer to attribute them to a later period, chiefly on account of the weight-system which they follow. They may have been struck after the conclusion of the first Punic War, B.C. 241, when the whole island of Sicily became a Roman province, with the exception of the dominions of Hieron, which consisted of nearly the whole of the east coast of the island, with the towns of Acræ, Leontini, Megara, Eloris, Neæte, and Tauromenium.<sup>73</sup> This is the district for which I suppose them to have been issued, and for which the general term ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΑΝ would be more appropriate as well as, perhaps, more popular than

<sup>71</sup> *Mémoire sur les Médailles Siciliennes de Pyrrhus, Roi d'Épire, &c.* *Mém. de Num. et d'Ant.*, p. 61.

<sup>72</sup> *Bulletino dell' Inst. di Corr. Arch.*, 1833, p. 8. *De Nummo Hieronis Secundi.* Jos. Alessi ad Ed. Gerhardum *Epistola*,

<sup>73</sup> *Diodoros*, xxiii. 4.

**ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ.** The letters **ΙΣ** in monogram, which occur upon all the coins of this series, may possibly stand for **Ι**(εργωνος) **Σ**(υρακοσιων).

COPPER OF HIERON.

The following are the copper coins which belong to Hieron's reign:—

(α) WITH PORTRAIT.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Hieron or Gelon I., laureate, left.  
*Rev.*—**ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ**. Armed horseman, galloping, right.  
 Æ. 1. (Pl. XII. 1.)
2. *Obv.*—Same head, but diademed.  
*Rev.*—**ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ**. Nike in biga, right. Æ. 1·4. (Pl. XII. 3.)
3. *Obv.*—Same.  
*Rev.*—**ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ**. Armed horseman, galloping, right.  
 Æ. 1. (Pl. XII. 2.)

The symbols and letters which I have noticed on the preceding three types are the following:—

*Type 1.*—Macedonian helmet, rhyton, ending in fore-part of horse, jawbone of Kalydonian boar, owl flying, bee, pedum, plough, trophy (?), capricorn, wing, satyr, Boeotian shield; with letters on reverse, **Α, Α, Α, Ο, Τ, Φ**.

*Type 2.*—On reverse, **Ν**, or **Ξ**.

*Type 3.*—Cornucopiæ, thunderbolt, dolphin, altar, poppy-head; with letters on reverse, **Α, Α, Ε, Ι, Λ, ΑΥ, ΜΙ, Ν, ΝΚ, ΣΩ, ΤΙ, Φ**.

(β) WITHOUT PORTRAIT.

4. *Obv.*—Head of Poseidon, wearing tænia, left.  
*Rev.*—**ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ**. Trident between dolphins. Æ. .85—7.  
 (Pl. XII. 4.)
5. *Obv.*—Head of Persephone, left, crowned with corn.  
*Rev.*—**ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ**. Pegasos; beneath, **Σ**. Æ. .9. (Pl. XII. 5.)



AUTOTYPE, LONDON

# SYRACUSE

Æ OF HIERON II. B.C. 275-216. HIERONYMOS. B.C. 216-215



6. *Obv.*—Female head, left, hair in sphendone.  
*Rev.*—**IEPΩNOΣ**. Pegasos. Æ. .6. (Pl. XII. 8.)
7. *Obv.*—Head of Persephone, left, crowned with corn.  
*Rev.*—**IE** (in exergue); bull, butting, left, above which club. Æ. .75—.65. (Pl. XII. 6.)
8. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo, left, laureate.  
*Rev.*—**IEPΩNOΣ**. Free horse, right. Æ. .65. (Pl. XII. 7.)

## SYMBOLS AND LETTERS.

*Type 4.*—A, **Α**, **Α**, **Δ**, **Δ**, **Ι**, **Ϝ**, M, N, O, Σ, ΛΥ, ΟΦ, ΣΩ, ΦΟ.

*Type 5.*—Σ.

*Type 6.*—Poppy-head.

*Type 7.*—Grapes, poppy-head, kantharos. A, **Α**, **Α**, **Δ**, **Δ**, **Θ**, **Ε**, **Ι**, H, I, IA, ΛΥ, M, N, O, Σ, T, TI.

*Type 8.*—Lyre, ΛΥ.

As type 7 is the only one which does not bear the name of Hieron in full, it is the only one whose attribution is open to question. Both sides closely resemble the series which I have given (Pl. VIII. 9—12) to the time of Agathokles; but it will be seen that nearly all the letters and monograms on this, which may be called the **IE** series, are common to the other types of Hieron. It would, nevertheless, be difficult to distinguish some of these coins from those of the time of Agathokles were it not for the constant occurrence of the **IE** (evidently a contracted form of **IEPΩNOΣ**) and the club above the bull.

## XIII. HIERONYMOS, B.C. 216—215.

Hieron was succeeded by his grandson, Hieronymos, in b.c. 216. He reigned but one year, during which he broke with the Romans and formed an alliance with Carthage. The following are the coins which were struck during his short tyranny.

## GOLD.

*Obv.*—Head of Persephone, left, wearing corn-wreath.

*Rev.*—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΥ**. Winged thunderbolt, above which **ΚΙ**. *Α*. 5; full wt. 33.75. (Pl. XII. 9.)

## SILVER.

*Obv.*—Head of Hieronymos, diademed, left; behind, cornucopiæ.

*Rev.*—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΥ**. Winged thunderbolt; above **ΑΦ** or **ΜΙ**. *Α*. 1.2; full wt. 324 grs. (piece of 24 litræ). (Pl. XII. 10.)

*Obv.*— { Same types, with letters **ΑΦ**, **ΚΙ**, **ΜΙ**, **ΣΩ**,  
*Rev.*— { **ΦΙ**. *Α*. .9; wt. 135 grs. (dekalitron or  
 didrachm). (Pl. XII. 11.)

*Obv.*— } Same, with **ΚΙ**. *Α*. .7; wt. 67.5 grs. (penta-  
*Rev.*— } litron or attic drachm). (Pl. XII. 12.)

## COPPER.

*Obv.*—Head of Hieronymos, diademed, left.

*Rev.*—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΥ**. Winged thunderbolt, with letters **ΑΠ**, **Τ**, **Φ**, *Α*, or *Ο*. *Α*. .85. (Pl. XII. 13.)

The silver coins of Hieronymos are pieces of 24, 10 and 5 litræ. The magistrate's initials which occur are those with which we are already familiar on the money of the previous reign.

## XIV. DEMOCRACY, B.C. 215—212.

Hieronymos was assassinated in B.C. 215, and immediately afterwards a republic was once more proclaimed; and so great was the hatred which the tyrannical rule of Hieronymos had excited during the short period of one year that the people, fearing a restoration, put to death all the members of his family. They, nevertheless, did

not return to the policy of Hieron, but were persuaded to resist the Romans, who, consequently, laid siege to their city in B.C. 214. This is not the place to recount the story of the celebrated siege and capture of the city by Marcellus. Syracuse fell in B.C. 212, and two years afterwards the whole of Sicily was a province of the Roman Republic. The following are the coins which I would assign to this period:—

## GOLD.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Pallas.

*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Artemis (huntress) with bow and arrow, quiver, and dog; in field, ΣΩ.<sup>74</sup>  
*Æ.* .5; full wt. 45 grs. = 40 litræ. (Pl. XIII. 1.)

## SILVER.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus, laureate, left.

*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Nike in quadriga, right; beneath, ΥΑ, ΣΑ. *Æ.* 1; full wt. 216 grs. = 16 litræ. (Pl. XIII. 2.)

2. *Obv.*—Head of Pallas, left; behind, sometimes, Α.

*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Artemis, as on the gold, with ΣΩ, ΥΑ, ΣΑ, or ΧΑΡ. *Æ.* .95; full wt. 162 grs. = 12 litræ. (Pl. XIII. 3.)

3. *Obv.*—Same as preceding.

*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Winged thunderbolt; beneath, ΞΑ, ΣΩ ΥΑ Σ or ΥΑ Σ Α. *Æ.* .85; full wt. 108 grs. = 8 litræ. (Pl. XIII. 4.)

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<sup>74</sup> With respect to the initials ΣΩ see Raoul Rochette, *Graveurs des Monnaies Grecques*, p. 29, who is of opinion that they stand for Σώσις, a very common name among the Greeks of Sicily, and one which occurs several times in history about the time of Hieronymos. Brunet de Presle, p. 356, *note* 1, suggests that the Sosis mentioned with a certain contempt by the Syracusans in their harangue before the Senate (Livy, xxvi. 30) as a *faber ærarius* who betrayed the city to Marcellus, may perhaps be the engraver of the coins with ΣΩ. For my part I prefer to take ΣΩ rather as the name of a magistrate than that of an engraver.



4. *Obv.*—Head of Persephone, with short curly hair and corn-wreath; behind, owl.  
*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Nike in quadriga, right, with letters  $\mathcal{A}$  and  $\mathcal{A}$  I.  $\mathcal{A}$ . '85; full wt. 108 grs. = 8 litræ. (Pl. XIII. 5.)
5. *Obv.*—Head of bearded Herakles, in lion's skin, left.  
*Rev.*—Similar to preceding, with letters  $\Xi$  A.  $\mathcal{A}$ . '8; full wt. 81 grs. = 6 litræ. (Pl. XIII. 6.)
6. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo, left, laureate.  
*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Nike carrying trophy and palm; in field, XAP.  $\mathcal{A}$ . '75; full wt. 54 grs. = 4 litræ. (Pl. XIII. 7.)

The specimen of this type in the British Museum is re-struck over a piece of 4 litræ of Gelon, described above, p. 63. (Pl. XII. 12.)

7. *Obv.*—Head of Persephone, left, wearing corn-wreath; behind, torch.  
*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Zeus standing, front, and looking right; he rests on spear; in field, left, flying eagle and XAP.  $\mathcal{A}$ . '95; full wt. 135 grs. = 10 litræ. (Pl. XIII. 8.)
8. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo, left, laureate.  
*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ. Female figure with inflated veil, holding a half-unrolled scroll and a filleted branch. In field, A, K, or  $\Phi$ .  $\mathcal{A}$ . '55; full wt. 33·75 = 2½ litræ. (Pl. XIII. 9.)
9. *Obv.*—Head of Artemis, right, with quiver over shoulder.  
*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ. Owl facing, with letters A, K, or  $\Phi$ .  $\mathcal{A}$ . '45; full wt. 16·87 = 1¼ litræ. (Pl. XIII. 10.)
10. *Obv.*—Head of Pallas, left.  
*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ : XIII, with letters, A  $\Phi$  or K.  $\mathcal{A}$ . '35; full wt. 13·5 = 1 litra. (Pl. XIII. 11.)

The prevalence of the head of Pallas as an obverse type during these few years of democracy, may be a reminiscence of the Corinthian stater, first introduced by



AUTOTYPE, LONDON

# SYRACUSE

DEMOCRACY. B.C. 215-212.



Timoleon, after the expulsion of the Dionysian family. No coins with this type had been seen at Syracuse for more than half a century, when Hieron struck the last degraded imitation of the earlier Corinthian stater. The Democracy after Hieronymos would appear, therefore, to have reintroduced this type, so long popular at Syracuse, and to have struck pieces with the head of Pallas in gold of 40 *litræ*, and in silver of 12, 8, and 1 *litræ*, respectively.

The reverses of the gold and of type 2 of the silver probably represent some celebrated statue of Artemis Soteira, while the obverse of No. 9 shows us the head of the same statue. The reverse of No. 7 has been proved by G. Abeken (*Annali dell' Istituto*, 1839, p. 62) to represent the statue of Jupiter Imperator, mentioned by Cicero (in *Verr.*, iv. 58) in the following passage:—

“*Hoc tertium, quod erat Syracusis, quod M. Marcellus armatus et victor viderat, quod religioni concesserat, quod cives atque incolæ Syracusani colere, advenæ non solum visere, verum etiam venerari solebant, id Verres ex templo Jovis sustulit.*”

With regard to the **:XIII** on the reverse of No. 10, see Mommsen (ed. Blacas, p. 116), who proves that it is to be understood as  $13\frac{1}{2}$  copper *litræ*. This mark of value in the Roman character indicates a further depreciation in the value of the copper *litra*, and, consequently, of the copper talent, which was originally equal to 120 silver *litræ* or nummi; after the first reduction to 24; after the second to 12; after the third to 10; and, as is proved by this little coin, ultimately to 9 only. The following table shows the several reductions in the weight of the copper *litra*, together with the equivalents in copper of the silver *litra*, the weight of which was always the same, viz., 13·5 grains:—

	Æ. lit.	Æ. lit.	Æ. lit.	Æ. lit.
1 Æ. litra, originally 3375 grs.	120	=	120	∴ 1 = 1
„ after the first reduction, time of Dionysios, 675 grs.	120	=	24	∴ 1 = 5
„ after the second reduction, circ. B.C. 350, 337·5 grs.	120	=	12	∴ 1 = 10
„ after the third reduction, during reign of Hieron, 281·2 grs.	120	=	10	∴ 1 = 12 (XII)
„ after the fourth reduction, circ. B.C. 215, 253·1 grs.	120	=	9	∴ 1 = 13½ (XIII)

It is needless to repeat that these successive reductions of the litra of account do not of necessity involve a corresponding rise in the value of copper, considered as a metal, in comparison with silver (see p. 13). Nor is it even clear that the weight of the copper currency was reduced, although the silver coins were legally rendered of greater value, in respect to the *unit of account*.

The issue of copper during the three years between the death of Hieronymos and the capture of the city does not appear to have been extensive. The following are the pieces which I would assign to this period:—

1. *Obv.*—Head of Poseidon.  
*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Trident, between two dolphins; beneath, Α Γ, Ο Φ. Æ. ·8. (Pl. XIII. 12.)
2. *Obv.*—Same.  
*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Same. Æ. ·55.
3. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo, laureate.  
*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. The Dioscuri; beneath horses, Α Γ, Ο Φ, or Φ. Æ. ·85. (Pl. XIII. 13.)
4. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo, laureate.  
*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Tripod. Æ. ·5. (Pl. XIII. 14.)

5. *Obv.*—Female head diademed, right.

*Rev.*—Same as preceding. Æ. .5.

The first two of these pieces follow the type of Hieron II. They are generally of inferior work, and as they bear the name of the city in the place of that of Hieron, it is reasonable to suppose that they are subsequent to his reign.

Nos. 3, 4, and 5 seem, from their rude style of work, to belong to the same time. The magistrate's initials, which occur upon these copper coins, are the same as those which we have noticed before on the coins of Hieron and Hieronymos.

#### XV. SYRACUSE UNDER THE ROMANS.

Syracuse, judging from the style of the copper coins described below, must have been allowed by her conquerors to strike copper in her own name for some considerable time after her capture. Many of the types also of the following coins are very late, especially those which are derived from the worship of Isis, which can hardly be supposed to have been established at Syracuse for more than a century after the capture, if so early. Some of the types which follow are perhaps earlier than these; but I find it impossible to speak with any degree of certainty with regard to these rude coins. They are the last vestiges of Syracusan autonomy.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus, right, laureate.

*Rev.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟ** { Simulacrum of Isis (?) in triumphal  
**ΣΙΩΝ** { quadriga, holding torch. Æ. 1.  
(Pl. XIV. 1.)

2. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus, right, laureate.

*Rev.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ**. City of Syracuse standing left, turreted, holding rudder and sceptre.  
Æ. .85. (Pl. XIV. 2.)

3. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus, left, laureate.  
*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ (in exergue). Nike, with whip, in fast biga; above, crescent or star. Æ. .9—·8. (Pl. XIV. 3.)
4. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus, right, laureate.  
*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Eagle on thunderbolt. Æ. .8.
5. *Obv.*—Head of Pallas.  
*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Nike sacrificing bull. Æ. .8. (Pl. XIV. 4.)
6. *Obv.*—Head of Serapis, wearing tænia and lotus flower.  
*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Isis standing, left, with lotus-flower head-dress, holding sistrum and leaning on sceptre. Æ. .75. (Pl. XIV. 5.)
7. *Obv.*—Head of Isis, with long hair bound with wreath and surmounted by lotus flower.  
*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head-dress of Isis, consisting of cow's horns surmounted by globe and plumes, behind which are two ears of barley. Æ. .7. (Pl. XIV. 7.)
8. *Obv.*—Head of Persephone, right.  
*Rev.*—ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Demeter, standing, left, veiled, holding torch and sceptre. Æ. .75. (Pl. XIV. 6.)
9. *Obv.*—Head of Persephone.  

ΣΥΡΑ

*Rev.*—ΚΟΣΙ      within wreath of barley. Æ. .6. (Pl. XIV. 9.)  

ΩΝ
10. *Obv.*—Head of Demeter, veiled, right.  
*Rev.*—ΣΥ ΠΑΚ ΟΣΙ ΩΝ. Two torches crossed. Æ. .65. (Pl. XIV. 8.)
11. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo, left, laureate.  

ΣΥΡ ΑΚΟ

*Rev.*—ΣΙ ΩΝ      Torch. Æ. .6. (Pl. XIV. 10.)
12. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus (?), laureate, right.  

ΣΥΡΑ

*Rev.*—ΚΟΣΙ      Tripod. Æ. .4.  

ΚΟΣΙ
13. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo, right, laureate.



SYRACUSE  
UNDER THE ROMANS.





- Rev.*—**ΣΥΡΑ** Sacrificial cap (*galerus*); in field,  
**ΚΟΣΙΩΝ** right, **Q.** Æ. .6. (Pl. XIV. 12.)
14. *Obv.*—Head of Demeter (?), veiled.  
*Rev.*—**ΣΥΡ ΚΟ ΣΙΩΝ** (*sic*). Quiver with strap,  
bow and arrow crossed. Æ. .6.
15. *Obv.*—Bust of Helios, radiate, right, with bow and quiver  
over shoulder.  
*Rev.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟ** Naked male figure, of Ægyptian style,  
**ΣΙΩΝ** wearing modius, and holding branch  
and wreath (?). Æ. .75. (Pl. XIV.  
11.)
16. *Obv.*—Head of Janus.  
*Rev.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟ ΣΙΩΝ.** Object resembling a quiver,  
with a circular radiate top and two fillets attached  
to rings on each side. Æ. .6. (Pl. XIV. 13.)
17. *Obv.*—Head of Asklepios.  
*Rev.*—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟ ΣΙΩΝ.** Serpent entwined round a  
staff. Æ. .5.

## CONCLUSION.

I have now traced, during the long course of three hundred years, the numismatic history of the most wealthy and populous of the cities of ancient Greece; a city which has left us an unbroken series of coins unrivalled for their artistic beauty by those of any other State, ancient or modern, although it must be confessed that in boldness, as well as in chastity of style, they are surpassed by individual specimens from Hellas and even from Macedon, notably by the splendid tetradrachm of Amphipolis with the head of Apollo, by some of the coins of Aenus in Thrace, and of Clazomenæ in Ionia. Nevertheless, as a continuous series, the coins of Syracuse offer to the art student a far greater variety of type and detail illustrative of the progress of Greek art, from its infancy to its decline and ultimate extinction, than those of any other Hellenic city. In the foregoing pages I have for

the most part confined myself to the consideration of the chronological sequence of the pieces of this magnificent series, leaving it to others more competent than I am, to amplify and elaborate the work,—to the art critic the task of determining the relative artistic merit of style and type, and to the student of mythology that of recording, and even sometimes of unravelling, the myths handed down to us in these beautiful though minute monuments of ancient metal-work. The artist may compare the styles of Eumenos and Soson, of Kimon and Evænetos, while the mythologist may decide whether the head represented is that of Arethusa, of Artemis Potamia, or of Kyane, the nymph of the fountain when Hades bore off the goddess Persephone into the realms of the underworld; or he may seek an explanation of the myth of Leukaspis.

To these and all who have neither the leisure nor the opportunity of consulting the coins themselves, I am glad to be able to offer a series of plates, which afford accurate and faithful reproductions of the monuments in their present condition, not adorned by the fancy and not misrepresented, as is so often the case, by the ignorance of the modern engraver.

In conclusion, I have to record my best thanks for the valuable assistance which I have received throughout the compilation of the foregoing catalogue from my friends and colleagues, Mr. R. Stuart Poole and Mr. Percy Gardner, without whose constant encouragement I should hardly have ventured to court the criticism of Numismatists by the publication of the above remarks; more especially after I became aware that on more than one important question, my opinion was at variance with the generally accepted judgment of some of the first Numismatists in Europe.

BARCLAY V. HEAD.

## APPENDIX.

(a) *Table of the normal weights of Syracusan gold and electrum coins, in English grains and French grammes, together with their equivalent values in silver grains, grammes, and litræ.*

PERIOD I.—PROPORTIONATE VALUE OF  $\mathcal{A}$ . :  $\mathcal{R}$ . AS 1 : 15.

DATE.	$\mathcal{A}$ Grains	$\mathcal{A}$ Grms.	$\mathcal{R}$ Grains	$\mathcal{R}$ Grms.	$\mathcal{R}$ Litræ
B.C. 413—406. Democracy.	18	1.16	270	17.49	20
	11.25	.72	168.7	10.93	12½
	9	.58	135	8.74	10
B.C. 406—345. Dionysian Dynasty.	90	5.83	1350	87.47	100
	45	2.91	675	43.73	50

PERIOD II.—PROPORTIONATE VALUE OF  $\mathcal{A}$ . :  $\mathcal{R}$ . AS 1 : 12.

DATE.	$\mathcal{A}$ Grains	$\mathcal{A}$ Grms.	$\mathcal{R}$ Grains	$\mathcal{R}$ Grms.	$\mathcal{R}$ Litræ
B.C. 344—317. Democracy restored by Timoleon.	112.5	7.28	1350	87.47	100
	56.25	3.64	675	43.73	50
	33.75	2.18	405	26.24	30
	28.12	1.82	337.5	21.86	25
	11.25	.72	135	8.74	10
B.C. 317—310. Agathokles.	67.5	4.37	810	52.48	60
	45	2.91	540	34.98	40
	22.5	1.45	270	17.49	20
B.C. 310—307. Agathokles.	135	8.74	1620	104.97	120
B.C. 307—289. Agathokles.	90	5.83	1080	69.98	80
B.C. 287—216. Hiketas, Hieron II., &c.	67.5	4.37	810	52.48	60
B.C. 216—215. Hieronymos.	33.75	2.18	405	26.24	30
B.C. 215—212. Democracy.	45	2.91	540	34.98	40

N.B.—The weights of the electrum coins are printed in darker type.

(β) Table of the normal weights of the principal Syracusan silver coins in English grains and French grammes.

DATE.	Grains	Grms.	Denomination
B.C. Sixth century—480. Geomori and Gelon.	270	17.49	20 litr. = Tetradrachm
	135	8.74	10 „ = Didrachm
	67.5	4.37	5 „ = Drachm
	13.5	.87	1 „
	11.25	.72	Dekonkion = Obol
B.C. 480—345. Hieron I. to Dionysios II.	675	43.73	50 litr. = Dekadrachm
	270	17.49	20 „ = Tetradrachm
	67.5	4.37	5 „ = Drachm
	33.75	2.18	2½ „ = Hemidrachm
	13.5	.87	1 „
	11.25	.72	Dekonkion = Obol
	5.62	.36	Pentonkion = Hemiobol
	4.5	.29	Tetras
	3.37	.21	Trias
B.C. 344—317. Timoleon and Democracy.	135	8.74	10 litr. = Corinthian statr.
	40.5	2.62	3 „
	33.75	2.18	2½ „ = Hemidrachm
	27	1.74	2 „
	20.25	1.31	1½ „
	16.87	1.09	1¼ „ = Trihemiobol
	13.5	.87	1 „
B.C. 317—310. Agathokles.	270	17.49	20 litr. = Tetradrachm
	135	8.74	10 „ = Corinthian statr.
	67.5	4.37	5 „ = Drachm
B.C. 310—307. Agathokles.	270.	17.49	20 litr. = Tetradrachm
B.C. 307—289. Agathokles.	108	6.99	8 litr. = Cor. statr. reduced
B.C. 287—278. Hiketas.	202.5	13.11	15 litr. = Tridrachm
B.C. 275—263(?) Hieron II.	90	5.83	= Oktobol
B.C. 263 (?)—212. Hieron II., Hieronymos, and Democracy.	432	27.97	32 litr.
	324	20.98	24 „
	243	15.74	18 „
	216	13.99	16 „
	162	10.49	12 „
	135	8.74	10 „ = Didrm. or statr.
	108	6.99	8 „
	81	5.24	6 „
	67.5	4.37	5 „ = Drachm
	54	3.49	4 „
	33.75	2.18	2½ „ = Hemidrachm
	16.87	1.09	1¼ „ = Trihemiobol
	13.5	.87	1 „

## II.

### ON SOME UNPUBLISHED OR LITTLE KNOWN COINS OF THE ROMANS RELATING TO BRITAIN.

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BY THE REV. PROFESSOR CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., F.L.S.,  
V.P.R.S.L., &c.

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THE following paper comprises an account of Roman coins relating to Britain, such as are either unpublished, or vaguely included under a description which will embrace various forms; as well as those coins published by myself in the Transactions of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. They are contained, with very few exceptions, in my own cabinet.

It is certainly much to be wished that a new work on this class of coins might be written. Mr. Akerman's valuable publication, "Coins of the Romans relating to Britain," the second edition of which appeared in 1844, was no doubt a great step in advance. But in the later part of the work the entire obverses of the coins are in many cases not given at all,—see more especially those of Carausius and Allectus; and different varieties are classed together under the same number in a manner not altogether satisfactory. Moreover, it was not at that time, so far as I am aware, even suspected that the coins reading PLN in the exergue were struck in London; so

that a very large number of pieces of the London mint are for that reason omitted. Added to which a considerable number of types, more especially of Carausius, have been discovered since that time, which have been published in various papers in the Numismatic Chronicle and elsewhere, especially in Mr. C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*.

The "*Monumenta Historica Britannica*" bears on its title 1848, but much of it was executed some time previously. In this work, begun by Mr. Petrie, and continued by Mr. (now Sir Thomas Duffus) Hardy, are contained a series of most beautiful plates of Romano-British coins, sixteen in number, the descriptions being by Mr. Doubleday. No notice is herein taken of Mr. Akerman's publication, and the series ends with *Allectus*, without any mention of the numerous coins of subsequent emperors which have PLON or PLN in their exergues, or which are on other considerations now attributed to Britain.

It would be interesting to know by whom PLN was first interpreted to indicate the London mint.<sup>1</sup> M. Senckler, in the "*Publications de la Société pour la Recherche et la Conservation des Monuments Historiques dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg*," assigned in 1847 some coins found near Dalheim, bearing these letters in the exergue, to London. His attribution, however, was con-

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<sup>1</sup> Rasche (*Lex.*, s.v., tom. iii., p. 1431) says in 1787 that PLN stands for "*Percussa Lugduni, addito N monetarii signo; aliis, in officina nona.*" The same author makes PLON to be "*Percussa Lugduni, vel Pecunia Londinensis; aliis, Percussa moneta Lugduni in officina nona vel nova.*" Mr. Akerman says that Bimard (who wrote about the middle of the eighteenth century) assigns the PLON coins to the London mint, and that these letters are now "*by most antiquaries supposed to signify Pecunia Londinensis.*"—Pp. 156, 157 of the above-named work.

sidered to be erroneous by Mr. C. Roach Smith (*Num. Chron.* for 1853, vol. xv., p. 76). But from about this time forwards this interpretation of PLN seems to be gaining ground. Thus Mr. Tovey, in a paper dated May, 1849 (*Num. Chron.*, vol. xii. p. 65), assigns, without so much as questioning the propriety of the attribution, coins reading PLN as well as PLON to the London mint.

But it was reserved for Mr. De Salis to trace this matter out more fully in a paper communicated to the section of antiquities at the annual meeting of the Archæological Institute held in London July, 1866, which is published in vol. xxiv. of the *Archæological Journal* for 1867 (pp. 149—160). This paper is reprinted in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1867 (vol. vii., new series, pp. 57—62 and pp. 321—328). He there gives reasons for concluding “that the coins of Constantine I. and other members of his family, with the mint-mark PLON, are the continuation of those marked PLN, and that there is another class of unmarked coins which connects the coinage of Allectus with the latter, and completes an unbroken series from Carausius to Constantine I.” Of these coins he gives a sketch rather than a catalogue, the types and legends of the obverses being never fully set down. But it would manifestly be desirable that they should be minutely and properly catalogued; the letters in the field of the reverse being assigned to the particular type and exergual letters to which they belong, instead of being vaguely clustered together, as in Mr. De Salis’ enumeration. It may probably be beyond our power ever to ascertain the significance of some of the letters which appear on the reverses; but an exact catalogue is at any rate the foundation on which future discoveries are most likely to be reared. As things stand at present, it is hardly



possible even to conjecture whether a coin of this class is a well-known form or not; one thing is clear, that the catalogue would be a long one; and this in itself would be a proof of the abundance of the London mintage. My own cabinet contains about thirty varieties of the coin of Constantine the Great, having for reverse SOLI INVICTO COMITI, with PLN in the exergue; as well as many others of the same type belonging, according to Mr. De Salis, to the London mint, but having different letters in the exergue.

Mr. De Salis, in the same paper, observes respecting the mint of Camulodunum or Colchester, which is indicated by C or CL, that no copper money of Maximian struck there has yet been found, but that there can be little doubt of its existence. His sagacity is witnessed by two coins which are published at the end of this paper.

M. Cohen's great work, "*Description Historique des Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain*" (7 vols.; Paris, 1859—1868), is not of much service for our present purpose, as regards the later periods; the mint-marks, &c., not being affixed to the types to which they belong, but only enumerated at the commencement of the list of the coins of each emperor. Apart from this moreover the author, as he himself confesses in his account of the coins of Probus, is not very careful to note minute differences in the coins which he describes. Every numismatist must be deeply grateful to M. Cohen for the immense amount of good work which he has done; and yet it is impossible not to feel that the later volumes of his work must some day be re-written.

## ANTONINUS PIUS.

The reverse of the middle brass coin, reading *BRI-TANNIA COS. IIII. S.C.* (Cohen, n. 497), varies somewhat in different specimens. The shield is sometimes almost circular; more usually, perhaps, oval; also more rarely, truncated. Specimens of the first and second forms are in my collection from Cambridgeshire (Lord Braybrooke) and Suffolk (Mr. Warren), and appear to be common; a single example of the third came from Mr. Eastwood's sale. The head of the obverse is laureated in each case.

## COMMODUS.

The reverse of the large brass coin of this emperor, reading in the exergue *VICT. BRIT.*, bears three dates: *TR. P. VIIII.* (Cohen, n. 837), *TR. P. X.* (Akerman, *Coins of Rom. Rel. to Britain*, p. 39; Cohen, n. 838), and *TR. P. XI.* (Cohen, *Suppl.* n. 39). The form of the shield in this case also varies. In a coin bearing date *TR. P. VIIII.*, in Mr. Evans' collection, the shield on which the Victory sits is nearly circular; in another of the same date, in Dr. Lee's (formerly Captain Smyth's) collection (figured in *Petrie's Mon. Hist. Brit.* iii. 7), it is very decidedly oval. In a coin of the last date (*TR. P. XI.*), in my own collection, purchased at Mr. Eastwood's sale, it rather approaches the circular form.

From a consideration of the above-named coins of Antoninus Pius and Commodus, we seem to collect that the shields used by the British enemies of Rome in the second century varied in shape, but were connected by intermediate forms.

## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

*Obv.*—SEVERVS PIVS AVG. BRIT. Laureated head of Severus to right.

*Rev.*—VICT. BRIT. P.M. TR. P. XIX. COS. III. P.P. Victory holding palm and wreath standing to right. Æ. size 4 ; wt. 47 grs. (A.D. 211.) (Pl. XV. fig. 1.)

No denarius with this reverse is given in the published works. It has exactly the same legend as a middle brass published by Mr. Akerman (u. s. p. 46), and Cohen (n. 644).

Purchased at the sale of the late Mr. Eastwood.

## CARACALLA.

*Obv.*—ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. Radiated head of Caracalla to right.

*Rev.*—VICT. BRIT. TR. P. XIII. COS. III. S.C. Victory to right, placing her foot on a helmet, writing on a shield attached to a palm-tree. Æ. 2 (A.D. 211). (Pl. XV. fig. 2.)

The reverse is the same as Cohen (n. 581), but both the type and legend of the obverse differ; neither is it contained in Akerman, who gives a second brass, having this obverse, which is figured in Mon. Hist. Brit. iii. 20 (omitted by Cohen).

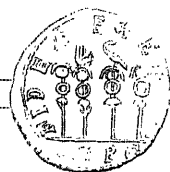
Purchased at the same sale.

## GETA.

*Obv.*—P. SEPTIMIVS GETA PIVS AVG. BRIT. Laureated head of Geta to right.

*Rev.*—VICT. BRIT. TR. P. III. COS. II. S.C. Victory sitting on a cuirass, before and behind which are oblong truncated shields, a helmet in front; she writes on a nearly circular shield, which rests on her lap. Æ. 1 (A.D. 212). (Pl. XV. fig. 3.)

This differs from Cohen (n. 184) and Akerman (n. V.),



J. J. Lee



in reading IIII. instead of III. on the reverse.<sup>2</sup> My coin has the fourth stroke defective above, as though the die-sinker, or some one else, had meant to cancel it. This difference, though small, is of some consequence, as the date will then be A.D. 212 instead of 211 (see Eckh. vii. 232), which is later than any hitherto known coin relating to Britain struck by the family of Severus.

Purchased at the same sale.

#### CARAUSIUS.

1. *Obv.*—IMP. CARAVSIVS P. F. AVG. Radiated bust to right in the cuirass.

*Rev.*—PAX AVG. Peace standing to left, holding olive-branch and sceptre; in field to left F (?), to right O. *R.* (base silver), size 6; wt. 45 grs.

The silver coins of Carausius hitherto described, bearing this legend, are decidedly different; but the same coin, or nearly so, occurs in copper (Mon. Hist. Brit., xi. 16), but the bust is paludated. Whether the exergue contained any letters or no, it is impossible to say, as the coin is a little damaged in that part.

Purchased from Mr. F. W. Lincoln.

The following are of third brass :—

2. *Obv.*—IMP. C. CARAVSIVS AVG. Radiated bust to the right in the paludamentum, beneath which armour appears.

*Rev.*—FIDES MILIT. Four military standards, those on the outside naked at the top, on the second a hand (?), on the third an eagle with the head turned to the right. In exergue S. P. C. (Pl. XV. fig. 4.)

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<sup>2</sup> Electrotypes of two coins apparently from the same die (one of them being Admiral Smyth's, then Dr. Lee's specimen) read III. without any space between the numeral and the COS. The die of my coin is manifestly different, but there is no sensible difference of type.

Probably struck at Camulodunum (Colchester) rather than Clausentum (Bittern, near Southampton).<sup>3</sup> The S.P. which so frequently precedes the initial of the place of mintage on the exergue<sup>4</sup> of late Roman coins, appears to me rather to stand for *signatum*, *percussum* (sc. æs.), than for *sacra pecunia*. In the same way M in such locations may be for *monetatum* rather than *moneta*. The verb occurs in late Latin (see Ducange, Gloss. s. v.). This rare and apparently unique coin was brought to me in 1862 by a boy at Cambridge, and was soon afterwards published with a figure in the Transactions of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1864 (vol. ii. pp. 235—238), along with two similar unpublished coins of Allectus, reading FIDES EXERCIT, with obverses slightly differing from each other, both these coins being also figured by the kind permission of their owners, Mr. C. Roach Smith and Mr. John Evans.

In the same paper mention is made of several allied coins of Carausius not given in Akerman, Petrie, or Cohen, to which the reader is referred. One of these is published by Tanini, from a third brass in the Vienna Cabinet, who does not mention any letters in the exergue (Suppl. ad Bandur., Numism. Imperat. Roman. p. 227). Having since procured a specimen very nearly identical with it, I proceed to describe it.

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<sup>3</sup> On this matter see Mr. Madden's remarks in Num. Chron., N.S., vol. ii., pp. 42, 43, for 1862.

<sup>4</sup> These letters are also found in the field of some of his coins. It is not, however, certain that they are *then* to be read continuously with the letters (C, ML, or MLXXI) of the exergue; though that is just possible, in which case we should occasionally have the somewhat pleonastic expression *signatum*, *percussum*, *monetatum*. Various other letters, B, BE, FO, O, SE, SF, &c., sometimes occur in the field, which still, I believe, remain obscure.

3. *Obv.*—IMP. CARAVSIVS P. F. AVG. Radiated bust to the right, with the paludamentum.

*Rev.*—FIDEM MILI[TVM]. Woman standing to the left, holding a standard in each hand. In exergue ML, *i.e.*, monetatum Londini.

Tanini describes his coin as having FIDES; the female in the reverse he describes as facing; besides omitting the letters in the exergue. The accusative, *fidem*, found on more than one coin of Carausius, is explained by Génébrier (p. 40), whom Tanini follows (p. 225), to mean that Carausius had rewarded the fidelity of his soldiers. There is hardly a doubt that the reverse had MILITVM in full, but the letters are partly "off the coin."

Purchased by me from Mr. F. W. Lincoln.

4. *Obv.*—[IMP. C. C] ARAVSIVS P. AV. Bust radiated to the right, with the paludamentum.

*Rev.*—FIDE[S] MILI. Woman standing to the left, with a standard in each hand. No letters in the exergue.

The exact number of letters "off the coin," on the obverse, can hardly be ascertained, but I think that a C probably was present before Carausius. On the reverse it is vexatious enough that the fourth letter is absent, but there seems to be a trace of S rather than M. The abbreviation MILI, which is undoubtedly the full reading of the coin, does not appear upon any other coin of Carausius whatever, so far as I know. There is, at all events, none such mentioned by Cohen, Petrie, or Akerman.

Purchased from Mr. F. W. Lincoln.

5. *Obv.*—IMP. CARAVSIVS P. F. AVG. Bust radiated to the right, with the paludamentum.

*Rev.*—LAETITI[A] AVG. Joy standing to the left, a garland in her right hand, an anchor in her left; in field to left L.; in exergue ML. (Pl. XV. fig. 5.)



There are several coins with this type and legend on the reverse, figured in Pl. viii. of the Mon. Hist. Brit., which more or less approach this. On none of them does the letter L occur in the field. Cohen, who specifically omits all letters in the field and exergue, would include this under his n. 113. The present coin is in very good and satisfactory condition, so that there is no doubt about the minutiae of the legends. There seems to be a trace of the last letter of LAETITIA.

Purchased from Mr. F. W. Lincoln.

6. *Obv.*—IMP. C. CARAVSIVS AVG. Radiated bust to the right, with the paludamentum.

*Rev.*—SALVS AVG. Salus holding a cornucopiæ standing to the left, and feeding a serpent, which is twined round a staff, out of a patera. (Pl. XV. fig. 6.)

There is nothing like this in the Mon. Hist. Brit., among the many coins of Carausius with the legend. The serpent is thrice coiled round a baton, not an altar; or at any rate what looks more like a baton. This approaches a coin figured in Mr. C. R. Smith's Coll. Ant. vol. iv. Pl. xxx. fig. 9, where the altar is columnar.

Purchased from Mr. F. W. Lincoln.

7. *Obv.*—IMP. C. CARAVSIVS AVG. His bust radiated to the right in the cuirass.

*Rev.*—VIRTV. AVG. Military figure standing to the left, holding a globe in his right hand, and a spear in his left. In field S. P.; in exergue C. (The letters in the field may possibly be for Signatum, Percussum, see note 4; that in the exergue is most probably for Camuloduni.)

This precise abbreviation of the reverse legend does not, I believe, occur on any published coin of Carausius, except one (Akerman, p. 145), which has Hercules for the type. The type is also different from any which reads VIRTVS AVG. or VIRTVTI AVG. A coin reading

VIRTVS INV. AVG. seems to have exactly the same type, but has L (London) in the exergue (do. p. 145).

Purchased from Mr. W. F. Lincoln.

Besides these, I have two coins of Carausius which seem to be barbarous imitations. One reads thus on the obverse: IMP. CARAVSIVS P. AV. His radiated bust to the right, with the paludamentum. The reverse has letters which are not intelligible. It is possible that they read *downwards*, SA [LV] S. A. The type agrees partly with Mon. Hist. Brit. (xii. 29), reading SALVS AVG. (but compare also ix. 4 and xii. 33). A woman stands to the left holding a sceptre in her left hand, and a crescent (meant for a patera) in her right, over an altar, which stands on a convex lunar base. The other has on the obverse, IMP. CARAVSIVS. Radiated bust to right, dress obliterated. The reverse appears to have a galley, with rowers. The letters are not intelligible. It is possible to fancy TVTI. A. A coin of this type, reading VIRTVTI AVG., is given by Mionnet.

#### ALLECTUS.

All of third brass.

1. *Obv.*—IMP. C. ALLECTVS P. F. I. AVG. Radiated bust of Allectus to the right, in the paludamentum and the cuirass.

*Rev.*—FIDES EXERCIT. Four military standards: the two outside naked at the top, a hand on the second, a bird on the third; in exergue S. P. C.

Described and figured by me in the Transactions of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society (as above), from a specimen in Mr. C. Roach Smith's collection. Quite unlike any coin of Allectus previously described. Cohen has no coin of Allectus with this legend.

2. *Obv.*—IMP. C. ALLECTVS P. F. AVG. Radiated bust of Allectus to right in the paludamentum.

*Rev.*—As before, but from a different die. (Pl. XV. fig. 7.)

Described and figured as above. This differs from the preceding in the legend of the obverse (the I for *invictus* being absent), and also slightly in the type of the dress. The original is in Mr. John Evans's collection.

8. *Obv.*—IMP. C. ALLECTVS AVG. Radiated bust to right, with the cuirass.

*Rev.*—LAETITIA AVG. Galley with four rowers and a steersman; in exergue Q. C. (Pl. XV. fig. 8.)

This abbreviated legend of the obverse is very rarely met with on coins of Allectus. Cohen mentions only one example (n. 64). The reverse is as Mon. Hist. Brit. xv. 29, nearly; but one of the rudders in the present coin is very distinctly drawn. The module is rather small, size 4.

Purchased from Mr. F. W. Lincoln.

4. *Obv.*—IMP. C. ALLECTVS P. F. AV. Radiated bust to left, with the paludamentum.

*Rev.*—PAX AVG. Peace standing to left, holding olive-branch and upright sceptre; in field S. P.; in exergue MLXX apparently.

Differs from Mon. Hist. Brit., xvi. 14, in having S.P. and not S only in the field; the specimen may have been imperfect. There is not much doubt about the letters in the exergue.

Obtained by me in Bury St. Edmunds.

5. *Obv.*—Same legend, except AVG. for AV., but the bust has the cuirass.

*Rev.*—Same legend and type. In field S. P. as before, but in the exergue ML. only.

Purchased from Mr. F. W. Lincoln. This also slightly differs from the published coins.

6. *Obv.*—Same as the preceding.

*Rev.*—PIETAS AVG. Female standing to left, her hand over an altar; in the field S (?) A.; in exergue MSL.

None of the coins of Allectus with this type and legend, published in *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, have MSL in exergue.

#### MAXIMIANUS HERCULES.

1. *Obv.*—IMP. MAXIMIANVS AVG. Bust radiated to right, with cuirass and paludamentum.

*Rev.*—SALVS AVGG. Health standing to right, feeding a serpent from a patera. In exergue C. (Camulodunum). Æ. 3. (Pl. XV. fig. 9.)

Obtained at Mr. Burns's sale (Lot 1).

In 1866, Mr. De Salis (*Archæological Journ.* vol. xxiv. p. 155, reprinted in *Num. Chron.* vol. vii. N.S. p. 57), observes that no copper coins of Maximian, "struck at Colchester, have yet been found, but there can be little doubt of their existence." Cohen, however, appears to have known one or more coins of this class, as he places C among the letters found in the exergue of the small brass of this emperor; and Mr. De Salis regards this letter as the Colchester mint-mark at this time (*Méd. Imp.* v. p. 431). For the types and legends of this and the following coin see Cohen, n. 387 sqq.

2. *Obv.*—IMP. MAXIMIANVS P. AVG. Radiated bust to right in the cuirass.

*Rev.*—The same as before. Æ. 3. (Pl. XV. fig. 10.)

Purchased in a miscellaneous sale at Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge's rooms. Differing from the preceding in the style and legend of the obverse. It is not precisely the same as any in Cohen.

### III.

#### ON THE COINS OF ETHELRED, KING OF NORTHUMBRIA.

IN the Numismatic Chronicle for 1869 Mr. Rashleigh published a valuable paper on the Saxon and Danish kings of Northumbria, in which, among other matters, he attempts to separate the coins usually ascribed to Ethelred the son of Eanred, into two divisions, one of which he attributes to the earlier Ethelred the son of Ethilwald, who died forty-six years before the second Ethelred ascended the throne. As, after a careful examination of the coins with the name of Ethelred in the series of Northumbria as represented in the British Museum, I cannot bring myself to agree with Mr. Rashleigh, I will venture to state the reasons which have prevented me from accepting his attribution.

Mr. Rashleigh's separation of Ethelred's coins is as follows:—

(1) The coins which have a quadruped on the reverse, as well as the moneyer's name (Leofdegn), he attributes to the first Ethelred. These coins have the king's name spelt Ethilred.

With this first attribution I entirely agree, the sufficient reason for it being that these coins mark the cessation of the quadruped type, and the adoption of the moneyer's name on the reverse—changes which no doubt

belong to the first half of Æthelred I.'s reign—that is, before the year 778, when his throne was usurped for twelve years by Ælfwald.

(2) The coins on which the name of the king is spelt Æthelred, Mr. Rashleigh also gives to the first Æthelred, the son of Æthilwald ; while,

(3) Those on which the name is spelt Æthired he gives to the second Æthelred the son of Eanred. As the coins of the quadruped type are very rare, these two last divisions form the most important part of Mr. Rashleigh's attribution.

Now it seems to me that we must have far more assurance than we possess that moneyers were accustomed to be very particular in their spelling of the king's name, before we venture to ascribe to different kings, coins which are distinguished only by this variety. That there was no such care taken must be admitted by Mr. Rashleigh himself when he attributes the coins of the quadruped type to Æthelred I., because on these coins we have the very orthography which he supposes to characterize the coins of Æthelred II. Indeed, I cannot help thinking that he would have given to the earlier king all the coins spelt Æthired if the moneyers' names would have allowed it, and if the coins of this class had not been twice as numerous as those of the other.

The main argument against Mr. Rashleigh's theory lies in the number of moneyers' names which occur in both classes. Supplementing Ruding's plates by the coins in the British Museum, I find about twenty-four distinct moneyers, and of these seven have the spelling of the king's name with both *i* and *e*. These seven are : *Broder*, or *Brother* ; *Eanred*, or *Anred* ; *Eordred*, or *Fordred* ; *Leofdegn*, *Monne*, *Vulfred*, and *Vintred* or *Pintred*.

Now, if we adopt Mr. Rashleigh's theory, we cannot suppose that these moneyers with the *same names* who coined under the two Ethelreds, were the *same men*; first, because such an explanation would involve the supposition that seven moneyers, out of some eight or nine, who, according to Mr. Rashleigh, coined in the reign of the first Ethelred, lived on till after the accession of his namesake some forty-six years later, or (as four of these seven must have done) till the usurpation of Redulf, four years later still—in all, fifty years; and, secondly, because, out of these seven moneyers, five only occur on the coins of Eanred; so we should have to imagine that these seven moneyers coined during part of the first Ethelred's reign, that two of them left off coining during Eanred's reign, and then began again on the accession of his son. These two suppositions, therefore, involve such a high degree of improbability as to amount to an impossibility. Mr. Rashleigh, of course, does not suppose that these moneyers with the same names were the same men, but maintains that the moneyers who spell the king's name with an *e* are not the same as those who spell it with an *i*. Now it happens that of these seven moneyers *the same* four occur on the coins of Eanred, who preceded Ethelred II., and on those of Redulf, who usurped the throne when Ethelred II. had reigned four years. Mr. Rashleigh's theory, therefore, amounts to this. Out of eight or nine moneyers of the first Ethelred seven *happened* to bear names which were afterwards borne by seven (out of, say, twenty-two) of the moneyers of the second Ethelred, while only five of these names occur on the coins of Eanred, who lived between the two Ethelreds. Is this more probable than that four at least of these seven names belong only to four moneyers who began to coin in

Eanred's reign, and lived, as they might easily do, through the first four years of Ethelred II.'s reign till the usurpation of Redulf? Surely the question answers itself.

Mr. Rashleigh, indeed, maintains that "there is considerable difference in the workmanship and in the character of the letters of these moneyers"—that is, of the moneyers of the same name in the two classes. With regard to questions of taste, such as style, &c., disputes are proverbially difficult. It is impossible to give the general impression obtained after examining a great number of coins. I must, however, say that I cannot see any great difference of style in the two classes of coins, and that, as far as the Museum collection is concerned, I do not perceive that most of the coins of the *e* class "appear to be much worn by circulation, as compared with the coins in the *i* class." In order, however, to give others some opportunity of deciding on this question of style, I have selected, whenever there were examples, a coin of each class having the same moneyer's name on the reverse, and have placed casts<sup>1</sup> of these coins side by side. I have also placed at the top a coin of the quadruped type—admittedly a coin of Ethelred I.—between two, reading respectively Ethilred and Ethelred. You have thus an opportunity of judging if the difference between the two classes with *e*- and *i* be really greater than the *quadruped* piece and the one reading Ethelred next to it, though Mr. Rashleigh places these two under the same head. I readily admit that there is in every case some difference between coins of the same moneyer with the two spellings; but we may fairly suppose that if

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<sup>1</sup> Which were exhibited before the Society. The reader may refer to Ruding's Plates.



he altered the obverse he would also alter the reverse a little. Nor are the differences greater than may be found *within* each of the classes. Thus we have in the *e* class one moneyer whose name is spelt both BROÐER and BRODER, while in the *i* class his name occurs only in the first form. Again, we have both the spellings VINTRED and PINTRED in both the classes—a very curious circumstance if we adopt Mr. Rashleigh's conclusions, meaning that in these two reigns there were two different moneyers, both of whom had the same uncertainty about the first letter of his name.

With the other suggestions made in the course of Mr. Rashleigh's article I cordially agree, except, perhaps, that the type formerly considered a *hand* on the coins of Regnald should be taken to be the glove of Thorrr. Pleased though I should be to be able to recognise a mythological type where they are so scarce, I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that the hand in another shape does occur on the contemporary coins of Eadweard the Elder; nor to the great difference in importance as a symbol between the hammer of Thorrr, which, as is abundantly shown by the Eddas, was one of the most important symbols of the Scandinavian religion,<sup>2</sup> and Thorrr's gloves, which, as far as I know, are not once mentioned in the Eddaic poems. I am, moreover, rather inclined to think that if the Norsemen had attempted to represent Thorrr's gloves, they would have conceived them as possessing only two divisions—one for the thumb and one for the four fingers. For it will be remembered that in Snorri's Edda (Dæmisaga 45) Thorrr and his companions, when

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<sup>2</sup> Its use in consecrating marriages and funerals is shown in *Þrymskviða* 81 and *Snorra Edda*, *Dæmisaga*, 49.

journeying to Jötunheim, are related to have hidden themselves in what they took to be "a very large hall, with a door at the end of the same breadth as the hall itself, and there they sought their night-quarters." Afterwards they found "a side chamber (afhús) on the right hand side in the middle of the hall." This hall turns out to be the glove of the giant Skrímir, the side room being the thumb. Now the joke of this passage would be entirely lost unless this were the description of an ordinary glove.

C. F. KEARY.

#### IV.

##### KING CHARLES THE FIRST'S COLLECTION OF COINS.

WHILE looking through a volume of original letters and warrants at the British Museum, I happened by chance to notice the following curious warrant of Charles I., and as it does not seem to have ever been printed, or noticed by any numismatic writer, I considered that a copy, together with the partial explanation that I can render of it, would not be unacceptable to this society.

##### CHARLES R.

Whereas wee have remayning in our Library at St. James divers Medalls and ancient Coines, Greeke, Romane, and others. Wee doe hereby authorize, constitute, and appoint, our trusty and welbeloved Sir Simonds D'Ewes of Stowhall in the County of Suffolck Knight & Baronet, and Patricke Young Gentl. keeper of our Libraries, to sort and put y<sup>e</sup> said Coines and Medalls into their Series and order, and to lay aside to bee disposed by us all duplicates among them w<sup>ch</sup> are genuine and true, and to separate, and divide the novitious, adulterate & spurious peeces from y<sup>e</sup> said genuine. All which said peeces so separated and divided, are to remaine in our said Library at St. James, in the custody of the said Patricke Young, untill our further pleasure bee knowne. And that y<sup>e</sup> said Sir Simonds D'Ewes have free liberty from time to time to take into his owne custodie and keeping, such and soe many of them as hee shall have occasion to make use of, hee giving under his hand a note for the true & faithfull restoring of the number received. Given under our Royall hand at Newport in the Isle

of Wight this 19<sup>th</sup> day of October, in the foure and twentieth yeare of our Raigne. [1648].—(Additional MSS., No. 6,988, fo. 216.)

Sir Simonds d'Ewes, Knight and Baronet, was an eminent historian and antiquary, who lived 1602—1650. He was a burgess for Sudbury in the celebrated Long Parliament; but his sympathies inclining to the Court, he was one of the members "purged" on the 6th December, 1648. He then retired to his antiquarian studies and pursuits, and we are told that he formed a noble collection of Roman coins.

Patrick Young, a Scotchman by birth (born 1584, died 1652), was appointed the first librarian of the English Royal Library after its complete settlement. He was also a prebendary and treasurer of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Having premised these facts, which will be found in the "*Biographia Britannica*," I will now give, from the same source, a short account of the proceedings taken by the Commonwealth with regard to the Royal Library at St. James's. It was first seized by the Parliament in August, 1648, and committed to the trust of Hugh Peters, who preserved the library and coins for three or four months, when he delivered up the keys and custody of them to Major-General Ireton. The well-known and enlightened Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, fearing that these national treasures might be sold to foreigners, and so lost to the country, and at the instance of the learned John Selden, undertook the care of them in July, 1649. He appointed, in the same year, John Dury, a German, to be his deputy librarian, and instructed him "to go for an inventory of the books and medals to Mr. Young." Mr. Dury continued in charge of the Royal Library and Medals probably until the Restoration, and from an account taken

by him, on the 27th April, 1652, we learn that 12,000 coins were then in the library.<sup>1</sup>

Returning to the warrant, one is led to inquire why such orders should be given by the King to Sir Symonds d'Ewes and Patrick Young on the 19th October, 1648, when the coins were actually under the control of the Parliament, and in the custody of their agent, Hugh Peters? Charles I. was then at Newport, released on parole from his prison at Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight. During the negotiations which took place from the 18th September to the 27th November between the King and the Parliamentary Commissioners, and which resulted in the Treaty of Newport, Charles was allowed to occupy the house of a private citizen in that town. From this house the warrant in question must have been dated, on the 19th October, and it is not improbable that the King then expected to be very shortly reconciled with the Parliament, and again installed in his former power and possessions. In fact, until the famous "Pride's Purge," the Parliament was very well disposed towards a reconciliation with him, and by a vote of the 5th December, 1648, accepted the King's concessions as a ground for proceeding to the settlement of the peace of the kingdom. But after Colonel Pride's exclusion of the forty-one members on the following day, all such hope was at an end. Charles had been seized by the army, and removed from Newport on the 29th November, and on the 30th January, 1649, he was executed, within three months and a half from the date of his signing this Warrant.

HENRY W. HENFREY.

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<sup>1</sup> See "Biographia Britannica." Arts. D'Ewes, Whitelocke, Young.

## POSTSCRIPT.

Since writing the above I have, at the request of the Editor, collected all the notices that I can find relative to Charles I.'s collection of coins and medals.

Lilly says that Charles "was well skilled in things of antiquity," and "could judge of medals whether they had the number of years they pretended unto." He acquired, on his brother's death, the cabinet which was founded by Prince Henry.

John Pinkerton, in the third edition (1808) of his "Essay on Medals," remarks, that "Henry Prince of Wales bought the collection of Gorlaeus, amounting, as Joseph Scaliger says, to 80,000 coins and medals, and left it to his brother, Charles I."—(P. 10, vol. i.)

It is believed that Charles I. added considerably to this collection, and Horace Walpole (in his "Anecdotes of Painting") states that, upon his accession, he appointed Abraham Vanderdort, a Dutchman, keeper of his cabinet of pictures, medals, &c., at a salary of £40 a year.

There are several copies extant in manuscript of the catalogue which Vanderdort drew up at the King's command, entitled "An inventory of pictures, medals, agates, and other rarities in the privy-garden at Whitehall." The original inventory is said to be in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, but a copy of it, in Vanderdort's handwriting, may be seen in the British Museum, Harleian MSS., No. 4718. A rough list of the King's medals is given on fos. 23-28. A fair copy of this catalogue was lately bought by her Majesty the Queen for the library at Windsor, from the sale of Sir William Tite's collection.

The subsequent history of Charles I.'s cabinet until the Restoration has been noticed in the preceding article; but upon the return of Charles II., he ordered Elias Ashmole to draw up an account of the royal cabinet, as we learn from the following passage in the Memoirs prefixed to Ashmole's "Antiquities of Berkshire," 8vo., 1719, vol. i. p. x. :—

"Soon after this (about August, 1660) he was appointed by the King to make a Description of his Medals, and had them delivered into his Hands, and King Henry the VIIIth's Closet assigned for that purpose."

John Evelyn, in his "Numismata," supplies the next notice, viz. :—

"I conclude this Recension where indeed I ought to have begun, when I mention'd the Great and most Illustrious Persons of *England* (emulating the most celebrated Cabinets of the

Greatest Princes of other Countries), namely, that *Royal Collection* of Medals at St. James's, begun by that Magnanimous and Hopeful Prince Henry, and exceedingly augmented and improved by his Brother King Charles the Martyr, from the Testimony of his own Learned Library-keeper Patrick Junius (in his *Notes* on St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians), *Quem locum* (speaking of St. James's) *si vicinam Pinacothecam, Bibliothecæ celeberrimæ conjunctam: Si NUMISMATA Antiqua Græca, ac Romana; Si statuas & Signa ex Ære & Marmore consideres; non immeritò Thesaurum Antiquitatis & Ταμειον Instructissimum nominare potes, &c.* To which add, that of another Learned Medalist,<sup>2</sup> *Carolus Primus ille Magnæ Britanniæ Rex, cæteris Europæ Principes omnes hoc possessionum Genere, vincebat; which how at this Day impair'd, and miserably imbezeld, not only by the Rebels during the late Civil Wars, but even since, thro' the Negligence of others, is of deplorable Consideration; if any hopes yet remain of its revival again to some tolerable degree of Lustre and Repair, we must be oblig'd to the indefatigable Industry of the late Supervisor, the obliging and universally Learned (whilst he lived, my excellent Friend) and lately deceas'd Monsieur Justel; and from hence forward to the no less accomplish'd (in all solid Learning and severer Studies) Dr. Bentley, his worthy successor.*

"This for the *Books* and *Manuscripts*, among which there are still many Choice and Inestimable Volumes, besides the Famous and Venerable *Alexandrian Greek Bible* of St. Tecla; but the *Medals* have been taken away and purloin'd by Thousands, and irrecoverable. Their late Majesties (Charles II. and James II.) had yet a very rich and ample *Collection*, which I well remember were put in Order, and Methodiz'd by Mr. Ashmole, soon after the Restoration of King Charles the Second, which I hope, and presume may be still in being and to be recovered."—(Pp. 246, 7, of J. Evelyn's "Numismata," fol., London, 1697.

However, very soon after the publication of Evelyn's book, the royal collection was irrecoverably lost in the great fire which consumed all that remained of the palace of Whitehall (except the Banqueting House) on Tuesday, 4th January, 1697-8.

The reader may thus trace the history of the ill-fated royal collection from its foundation by Prince Henry, its augmentation by Charles I., and its partial dispersion during the Commonwealth, to its final destruction in 1698.

HENRY W. HENFREY.

30th June, 1874.

<sup>2</sup> *Car. Patin, Famil. Rom.*



# V.

## ON A DIE FOR A HALF-CROWN OF CHARLES I.

THE above is a copy of an impression from the original die for the reverse of a half-crown of Charles I. The type is a circular garnished shield of arms within a beaded inner circle. Legend, CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO. Mint-mark, a triangle. This half-crown seems to be Hawkins's Type 3a of the Tower Mint, and the obverse is figured in his Plate xl., No. 483. The date of the triangle mint-mark is given as 1639 by the same authority.

I am informed that this die was, many years ago, found between six and eight feet below the surface of the ground in a street adjoining an old house called the "Bell Stone," in Shrewsbury. It was presented to the Rev. William Gorsuch Rowland, of the same town, and after his decease it was obtained from Mr. Rowland's executors by its present possessor, Mr. Jos. Humphreys, of Dogpole Court, Shrewsbury, who has kindly favoured me with this impression.



Charles I. was at Shrewsbury from the 20th September to the 20th October, 1642, and he erected a mint there for coining his own household plate and that which he had received from the Universities, as we learn from Lord Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion" and Ruding's "Annals of the Coinage."

It therefore seems to me very probable that the die now under consideration was one of those used in the Shrewsbury mint in 1642, and that, as it bears the type of the London mint in the Tower with the 1639 mint-mark, this die may have been taken from London and made use of by the King at Shrewsbury three years later. The fact that dies had been abstracted from the Tower mint for the King's use about this period seems probable from an order of the House of Commons, 5th October, 1642, that the officers of the Mint should be required not to suffer any officer, workmen, or instrument belonging to the Mint, or coining, or graving, to quit their charge, or to be carried from thence, without order from the House.

We have thus, I think, some grounds for believing that several half-crowns of this type were minted at Shrewsbury, although Ruding did not know any method for distinguishing the Shrewsbury coins.

HENRY W. HENFREY.

## VI.

### ON THOMAS SIMON'S CONNECTION WITH GUERNSEY.

UNTIL a comparatively recent period, any connection between the family of Thomas Simon and the island of Guernsey seems to have been quite unknown to all numismatic students. Neither Vertue, Gough, Folkes, Snelling, Pinkerton, nor the writers in the *Numismatic Chronicle*,<sup>1</sup> make the least allusion to Guernsey in their accounts of Simon's life; and it was not until the 14th July, 1855, that Mr. Edgar MacCulloch (of Guernsey) recorded, in *Notes and Queries*, the interesting fact that Simon's wife was a Guernsey woman, and stated that the name of Simon was and is common in the island. Mr. MacCulloch says that Thomas Simon married the daughter and sole heiress of Cardin Fautrart, of Guernsey, and states that he found the following passage in a complaint, about the year 1655, against Peter de Beauvoir, Esq., Bailiff of Guernsey, by one of the many factions into which the island was then divided, viz. :—

“ And the said Peter de Beauvoir makes use of Mr. Thomas Symons, a graver living in the Strand, which Symons having skill in graving and making medalls, hath accesse unto his

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<sup>1</sup> “Notices of Thomas Simon,” by B. Nightingale, Esq., p. 211, vol. iv., old series. “The Will of Thomas Simon, &c.,” by C. T. Smythe, Esq., p. 161, vol. v., old series.

Highnes and many members of the Council, speaks rashly of the isle and of the inhabitants thereof, and mainteynes and recomēds the said de Beauvoir, who is his cosen german and his helpe and council in a suite in law about inheritance in the island of Guernzey, wherein the said de Beauvoir is very officious to oblige to himself the said Symons," &c.—Page 28, vol. xii., 1st series of *Notes and Queries*.

In a further communication to the same journal, Mr. MacCulloch adds:—

"The exact date [of the preceding extract] I am at present unable to give, as the original document bears none; but on reference to the records of the Royal Court of this island, I find that Thomas Simon had a lawsuit in that year (1655) with John Fautrart, jun., his wife's uncle, arising out of a claim which she made to a share of the personal estate of her grandfather, John Fautrart, sen. In January and February, 1653-4, Thomas Simon, in the right of his wife, was party conjointly with the other co-heirs in actions against John Fautrart, jun., concerning the division of the real property of John Fautrart, sen., deceased, in the islands of Guernsey and Sark. The parties are thus described in the preamble to the sentences rendered by the court:—

"'Monsieur Jan Fautrart, aîné de feu Monsieur Jan Fautrart, son père, amercy vers Monsieur Pierre Careye, procureur du Sieur Thomas Simon, à cause de sa femme, fille et seule héritière de feu le Sieur Cardin Fautrart, et les Sieurs Thomas de Sausmarez, principal héritier de feu Dame Bertranne Fautrart, sa mère, et Jan Renouf, procureur d'Isaac Gibault, junr., aîné de feu Dame Jane Fautrart, sa mère, les dits Cardin, Bertranne et Jane Fautrart, enfants du dit feu Sieur Fautrart, leur père.'

"It is rather singular that none of these documents gives us the Christian name of Thomas Simon's wife; but this is supplied by a contract registered in the Greffe or Record Office of the island, on Feb. 10, 1635-6, by which John Fautrart, jun., as guardian of his niece *Elizabeth*, daughter of Cardin Fautrart, buys in her name a field and certain wheat-rents."—Page 115, vol. ii., 2nd series of *Notes and Queries*.

The Christian name of Simon's wife is also supplied by his will, and other documents previously published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

With regard to this lawsuit of Thomas Simon and others against John Fautrart, I am able to add that the case was decided at Guernsey in favour of the former; since it appears from entries in the Council books (Public Record Office, London) that John Fautrart appealed to the Lord Protector's Council of State against the decision of the Guernsey Court. These entries, being hitherto quite unknown and unpublished, seem to me worth printing in the pages of the Numismatic Chronicle, as a fitting sequel to the articles on Thomas Simon in its earlier volumes.

The first order of the Council is as follows :—

*Friday, 15th February, 1655-6.*—"On consideraçon of the humble petiçon of Thomas Symon, in right of his wife and coheyres, and of a Report from the Lords Referees, to whome it was referred to receive all appeales to his Highness and the Counsell from the Inhabitants and Natives of the Island of Guernzey, from Judgmts<sup>2</sup> given in the Courts there; made in the Case wherein John Fautart (eldest sonne of John the father dec<sup>d</sup><sup>3</sup>) is appellat, against y<sup>e</sup> said Thomas Symon, Elizabeth his wife, and y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> Coheyres def<sup>ts</sup><sup>4</sup>; Forasmuch as the said Referees conceive it not possible for them to ground any opinion in y<sup>e</sup> Case, as to the doubts, and questions of Law, that may arise thereupon, w<sup>th</sup>out haveing the Fact cleared, by some tryall at Law, or otherwise, Ordered That a Coppy of the said report be transmitted to the Bayliffe and Jurates of Guernezey, to whome it is hereby referred, to examine Witnesses upon oath, as to matter of Fact in the sevrall Cases, and questions mençoned in y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup><sup>5</sup> report, and to returne the same, authentically certified, to the Counsell, w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> first oportunity."—Page 98, *Draft Order Book No. 87.*

The return of the Bailiff and Jurats of Guernsey having been duly made, it was ordered on Friday, 5th September, 1656 :—

"That the Returne made by the Bayliffe and Jurats of Guernzey, by vertue of an order of the Counsell of the 15th of

<sup>2</sup> Judgments.

<sup>3</sup> deceased.

<sup>4</sup> defendants.

<sup>5</sup> said.

February last, upon the humble petition of Thomas Symon, be referred to the Com<sup>ee</sup><sup>6</sup> for Appeales from Guernzey, to consider thereof, and to certify their opinion therein to y<sup>e</sup> Counsell."—Page 369, *Entry Book No. 105*.

On Thursday, 19th February, 1656-7, I find another Order of the Council, viz. :—

"That the humble petition of Thomas Symon, in right of his wife, and coheires, def<sup>ts</sup><sup>7</sup> ag<sup>t</sup><sup>8</sup> John Fautrart of Guernzey Appellant, and the Report from the Referees for Guernzey thereunto annexed, as also the humble petition of the sayd Cap<sup>t</sup> John Fautrart, and the pap<sup>s</sup><sup>9</sup> thereunto annexed, be referred to the Lord Lambert, Col. Jones, S<sup>r</sup> Charles Wolseley, Gen<sup>l</sup> Disbrow, S<sup>r</sup> Gilb<sup>t</sup> Pickering, or any 2 of them, to be by them considered of, and the case w<sup>th</sup> their opinion reported to y<sup>e</sup> Counsell."—Page 727, *Entry Book No. 105*.

Six months later, the Report from this Committee of the Council not having been made, it was hastened, thus :—

*Thursday, 27th August, 1657, post meridiem.*—Ordered "That it be referred to S<sup>r</sup> Charles Wolseley, Col. Sydenham, the Lord Strickland, Col. Jones, the Lord Visc<sup>t</sup> Lisle, or any 2 of them, to see how matters depending before the Counsell, upon an appeale from a Judgm<sup>t</sup><sup>10</sup> in Guernzey, in a Cause betwixt Thomas Symon and his wife, and John Fautrat doe stand, and to consider of the case, and report their opinion to y<sup>e</sup> Counsell, what is fitt to be donn thereupon."—Page 124, *Entry Book No. 106*.

The Report in question having at length been made and considered, the Council of State appointed a day for hearing the case themselves, as set forth in the next extract :—

*Wednesday, 16th September, 1657.*—"On consideraçon of a Report from the Com<sup>ee</sup><sup>11</sup> of the Counsell, to whom the matters in difference betweene M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Symon, and Cap<sup>t</sup> Fautrat, about a judgm<sup>t</sup><sup>12</sup> in Guernzey, from which the said Cap<sup>t</sup> Fautrat hath appealed, were referred; Ordered, That the Cause betweene the said Thomas Symon, and Cap<sup>t</sup> Fautrat shalbe

<sup>6</sup> Committee.

<sup>10</sup> judgment.

<sup>7</sup> defendants.

<sup>11</sup> committee.

<sup>8</sup> against.

<sup>9</sup> papers.

<sup>12</sup> judgment.

heard before the Counsell on Tuesday next in the afternoone, at which time both pties<sup>13</sup> and their Counsell, are to attend."—Page 149, *Entry Book No. 106*.

Accordingly, on the Tuesday following, 22nd September, 1657, at the afternoon sitting of the Council of State, His Highness the Lord Protector being present, the whole matter was settled in the following manner, viz. :—

"This day being appoynted for the heareing of the Cause, upon the Appeale of John Fautrat, the eldest sonne of John the Father deceased, ag<sup>t</sup><sup>14</sup> a Judgment given in the Court at Guernsey, for, and on the behalfe of Thomas Symons, in right of his wife, and others the Coheires of the said John the Father, for 2 third pts<sup>15</sup> of certaine Rents in the Isle of Sarke; Upon full debate of the matter by Counsell Learned on both sides, and heareing the evidence now offered, His Highness and the Counsell found noe sufficient cause to give any releife unto the said John Fautrat, the Appellant, upon the said appeale, And doe therefore order y<sup>t</sup><sup>16</sup> the said Appeale be hence dismissed; and that y<sup>e</sup> said Judgm<sup>t</sup><sup>17</sup> be remitted to the said Court at Guernsey, where the same was given, to cause y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup><sup>18</sup> Judgm<sup>t</sup> to be put in execucon, according to the true intent and meaning thereof."—Page 165, *Entry Book No. 106*.

I may here state that, notwithstanding a careful search among all the State Papers of the Protectorate, now preserved in the Public Record Office, London, I was unable to find any of the original reports and petitions referred to in these orders of the Council.

In concluding the present humble contribution to the history of our great medallist artist, I would remark that the *mother* of Thomas Simon was also a Guernsey woman, as well as his wife. It is established by several contributors to *Notes and Queries* that Pierre or Peter Simon (father of the engraver) married, on Thursday, 12th September, 1611, Anne, one of the six daughters of

<sup>13</sup> Parties.

<sup>14</sup> against.

<sup>15</sup> parts.

<sup>16</sup> that.

<sup>17</sup> judgment.

<sup>18</sup> said.

Gilles Germain, of Guernsey.—See the extract from the marriage register of the French Church in Threadneedle Street, *Notes and Queries*, p. 403, vol. xii. 2nd series.

Of the daughters of this Gilles Germain, a French refugee living in the island, one (Judith) married James de Beauvoir, and became mother of Peter de Beauvoir, Bailiff under Cromwell, and aunt of Thomas Simon; one daughter (Anne), as just remarked, married Peter Simon; and another daughter (Mary) married M. Carey, becoming mother of Peter Carey, Lieutenant-Bailiff in 1648.

The mother of Simon and the mother of Peter de Beauvoir having been both daughters of Gilles Germain,<sup>19</sup> Thomas Simon was thus the cousin of the Bailiff of Guernsey, Peter de Beauvoir de Granges, who was approved in that office by the Protector on the 22nd January, 1655-6. De Beauvoir may perhaps, as asserted in the complaint quoted at the commencement of this paper, have been partially indebted to his cousin's influence with Cromwell in obtaining the Protector's Letters Patent.

The present Bailiff of Guernsey, Sir P. Stafford Carey, has kindly favoured me with much of the above information, as well as with an impression from a ring which he possesses, bearing a portrait of the Lieutenant-Bailiff Peter Carey, of whom he is the representative. The portrait on this ring was engraved by Thomas Simon, in the year 1645, when the Lieutenant-Bailiff made a short visit to London, sent to seek assistance from the Parliament, the island being then threatened by the Royalists.

HENRY W. HENFREY.

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<sup>19</sup> See letter from Mr. MacCulloch to *Notes and Queries*, p. 115, vol. ii., 2nd series.

## VII.

### THE COPPER COINAGE OF 1672—73.

BY CAPTAIN EDWARD HOARE, OF CORK.

I possess an interesting numismatic document, now exactly two centuries old, a copy of which I have much pleasure in laying before the Numismatic Society. It is the account and balance-sheet of James Hoare, of his Majesty's Mint, for nine months of the years 1672 and 1673, in connection with the coinage of the copper farthings and halfpence struck at that time, which were, as is well known, the earliest copper moneys coined for circulation in England. According to Ruding's "Annals of the Coinage," James Hoare was Surveyor of the Meltings and Clerk of the Irons in 1641, Comptroller of the Mint in 1661, and Warden of the Mint from 1679 to 1682; so that he held several appointments in the Mint during the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II. In the following document he is mentioned as James Hoare the elder, as he had a son then alive, a barrister-at-law, who was called to the bar of the Middle Temple, June 1st, 1663, and is thus described in the books of that institution—"James Hore, son and heir apparent of James Hore, ex-Turre (of the Tower), London, Esquire." We must not mind the manner of spelling surnames constantly made use of, in various ways, in these times.

This document is interesting in many points, as it gives



not only the amounts, values, and weights of the copper blanks coined into currency for these years, but also the names of the engravers of the dies, and the amounts paid to each for such engraving; also the names of several of the officers of the Mint and the amounts of their yearly salaries, with several other minor but interesting particulars. When this document first came into my possession it was in a most precarious condition indeed. I repaired it with much care, however, and it is now in a state of better preservation, and more fit for inspection. In one portion time and damp has destroyed a small part, but it is in the least interesting portion of the manuscript. This same James Hoare was the founder of Hoare's bank—somewhere about the year 1640—and is thus mentioned, in the little London directory for the year 1677, among the list of "goldsmiths who keep running cashes," as "James Hore, at the sign of the Golden Bottle, in Cheapside;" the same golden bottle which is now over the doorway of Hoare's bank in Fleet Street, removed there a little previous to the year 1700 by Henry and Richard Hoare, the cousins, and previous partners and successors in the bank of James Hoare. I value this document highly, as James Hoare was the brother of my own immediate ancestor. I possess other papers relating to him; but they are of a private and family character. James Hoare died at Edmonton, county Middlesex, in 1694.

EDWARD HOARE.

"The Accompt of James Hoare the Elder, Esq<sup>e</sup>. ffor the moneys by him received, and had by way of Imprest and upon Account to be employed by him in the paying for Copper Blanks and such other charges as shal be necessary about the importing making and coining the said Copper Blanks into farthings. By vertue of his Maj<sup>ty</sup> Letters under his privy Seal

The Tenour whereof Ensueth viz. Charles the second by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the faith &c. To the Commissioners of our Treasury now being and To the Treasurer Under-Treasurer and Commissioners of our Treasury for the time being Greeting. Our will and pleasure is that you forthwith pay or cause to be paid out of any of Our Treasury now and here after being in the Receipt of our Exchequer, unto our Trustie and well beloved James Hoare the Elder Esq<sup>r</sup>. the Summ of fifteen Thousand pounds by way of Imprest and Account to be by him employed in the paying for Copper Blanks and such other charges as shall be necessary about the importing making and coining the said Copper Blanks into farthings according to such directions as the said James Hoare shall from time give and receive from you concerning the same. And those our Letters shal be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf. Given under our privy Seal at our palace of Westminster the fourth day of July in the four and twentieth year of our Raigne.

This account being for 9 moneths from 20th July 1672 to 20th April 1673,

Arrears none this being the first Account for this service.

But this Accomptant is charged by money impressed to him By vertue of the aforesaid privy Seal and by

him received out of the Exchequer in 1672 . 5500 00 00

To Copper Blanks coined into farthings and halfpence from the 10th of Aug<sup>t</sup>. 1672 unto the 25th of January following Being by weight 147687 lbs. 10 oz. amounting by Tale to . . . . .

10928 14 11½

To Copper Blanks coined from the 10th of february 1672 unto the 12th of April 1673 being by weight 19000 lbs. amounting by

Tale unto . . . . . 1654 08 7½

Total of this Charge is . . . . . 18083 08 7½

Against which this Accomptant is allowed

for 149,100 weight of Copper Blanks at 14½d.

p. pound is . . . . . 9008 02 06

for 19000 weight of said Blanks at 17d. pound

is . . . . . 1345 16 08

for money paid Abraham Cranstome for his

loss upon the first parcell . . . . . 300 00 00

To Peter Jansons Smith ffor making Punchons and Deys and looping the presses in repairing at one ffarthing P. pound of Coined Copper being 166637 lb. 10 oz. weight is . . . . .	178	11	07½
To Mess. Joseph and Phillip Roettiers ffor engraving the Punchons and Deys at <sup>1</sup> ffor the same weight is . . . . .	847	03	2½
To <sup>1</sup> Robert Gascoigne Robert Apps and Thomas Russell ffor Coining and paying necessaryes and ffor loss in Coinage at on <sup>e</sup> penny P. Pound is . . . . .	694	06	6½
To this Accomptant his Salary at 300£ P. ann. and 40£ for a Clark for 9 moneths from the 20th of July 1672 unto the 20th of Aprill 1673 is . . . . .	255	00	0
To Charles Hoare and William Le Blank Clavis at 140£ p. ann. for 9 moneths to the same time is . . . . .	105	00	00
To Samuel Wemboss henry Davis William Castle Thomas ffowles and William Dut <sup>ed</sup> for folding and tying up in paper at 30£ p. ann. each for 9 moneths . . . . .	112	10	00
To William Bradford the Elder and William Bradford the Younger and William Evans labourers at 15£ P. ann. each for 9 moneths is . . . . .	33	15	00
	12875	05	6½

Carried to the other side.

Brought from the other side.

To John Collins for uttering the ffarthings at 100£ P. ann. for 9 moneths is . . . . .	[The paper having perished here the various amounts are lost.—E.H.]
To Thomas Cullum and others for Rent of houses for uttering ffarthings . . . . .	
To Richard Cawthorne Stationer for paper and books . . . . .	
To Isaac Gardner for boxes to put the ffarthings in . . . . .	
To Anthony Ivat Joiner for fitting up the ffarthing office in ffenchurch street . . . . .	
To William Evans Ironmonger for sundry works to the office . . . . .	

<sup>1</sup> The writing and paper has here perished.—E.H.

To Lawrence Harriot Smith for work done in  
 the office . . . . .  
 To William Bradford for Candles and wooden  
 trayes . . . . .  
 To Joseph haut for Scales and weights . . .  
 To James Collinson for covering Tables and  
 Benches . . . . .  
 To John Collins for Cartage of farthings unto  
 ffenchurch street . . . . .  
 To the fees paid at the Excheq<sup>e</sup> at the Receipt  
 of the 5500£ . . . . .  
 The Total of payments and disbursements .  
 And so<sup>e</sup> the said Accomptant is indebted to the King's  
 Maj<sup>tie</sup> in Ready Money 5365£ 10s. 00d.  
 And remaining in Copper Blanks 1462 lbs. 6 oz. weight to  
 bee accounted for upon the next Account.

Declaratno 27 October 1674.

DANBY,  
J. DUNCOMB."

Labelled on the back :—

"Account of JAMES HOARE for Copper farthings from  
 20 July 1672 Unto the 20 April 1673."

## VIII.

### NOTES ON THE ANNALS OF THE SCOTTISH COINAGE.

#### No. VI.

THE original records of the various coinages of James VI.—now for the first time published—are of the highest degree of importance, and throw a complete light on the numismatic history of his reign. The contemporary acts of the Scottish Parliament, quoted by Cardonnel and Lindsay, and the few acts of the Privy Council, and extracts from the later Mint registers—given by the last-named author, comprise all that has been hitherto known of the History of the Scottish Mint during this important period. A careful search through the unprinted minutes of the Privy Council has added many most interesting acts and proclamations relating to the various coinages and changes in the value of the money. Other authentic documents have also been preserved. Among these will be found a “Compt of the Coynehous maid be Thomas Achesone,” extending from April, 1582 (with a few blanks), to August, 1606. Several of the original warden’s books or registers of the daily operations at the Mint; overtures or reports by the master coiner relating to proposed alterations in the coins; contracts between the King, the Lords of Council, and the various

individuals who at different periods leased the profits of the money have been preserved, and afford almost complete information regarding the fineness, weight, type, and changes in the value of all the coins of this reign. The most important and interesting of the results of this investigation will be found noted under the various years to which they belong.

#### JAMES VI.

1567. The first coinage of this reign was authorised by an act of Privy Council,<sup>1</sup> dated in the month of August, which minutely specifies the type, weight, fineness, and value of the sword dollar, or "James Ryall," and the two-thirds and one-third parts of it. Proclamation, by the royal authority, was made on the 1st September,<sup>2</sup> commanding all and sundry to receive the new coins at the respective values of xxx/, xx/, and x/.<sup>3</sup>

The Scottish Parliament in December authorised the King, with the advice of the Regent, to "prent and cunze gold and siluer of sic fynes as vtheris cuntreis dois;" and ordered that no "layit" or billon money be struck except with the consent of the three Estates of Parliament. It was also made illegal to break down or melt coined money, under pain of confiscation of the goods of the offender. Another act<sup>4</sup> of the same session provided that men of judgment were to be chosen in every town, before whom all sums of money were to be paid, and who were to clip in pieces all false money. One penny per pound was fixed as the fee for the clipper, and the

<sup>1</sup> Privy Council Records, (MS., Edin.), 1567, p. 31; Balfour's "Annals," vol. i. p. 341; Cardonnel, Ap., No. 2, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> "Diurnal of Occurrents," p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> "Scots Acts," iii. p. 29 c. 21.

<sup>4</sup> "Scots Acts," vol. iii. p. 30, c. 24; also p. 45, c. 91.

Provosts and other municipal officers were to furnish houses in which the examination of the money was to take place.

Lindsay<sup>5</sup> notices these acts in his view of the Scottish Coinage, but gives them in the wrong order, and is also incorrect in the date. Great frauds appear to have been practised at this time about the money, and vigorous measures were taken to repress them. A merchant of Dundee, named Robert Jacke, was one of the principal offenders, and carried on his operations on a very extensive scale. He fabricated false hardheads in Flanders, and imported them into the country. This having been found out, it is noted in Birrel's Diary that he was hanged and quartered.<sup>6</sup>

An act of Parliament<sup>7</sup> was passed on the 22nd December, which provided that in consequence of the money of the realm having been made lighter than it ought to be, by "roungeing, clipping, and wesching," the xxx/, xx/, and x/ pieces were to be weighed with weights of the ounce, two-thirds, and one-third ounce respectively. These weights were to have a special stamp or device on them. It would be interesting to know if any of these weights have been preserved. The ounce was the Scottish or French ounce, and lighter by  $7\frac{1}{2}$  grains than the ounce of the English Troy standard.

In order to prevent the importation of foreign or false money, another act<sup>8</sup> provided for the sharp punishment of false coiners; and altered the values of the smaller coins. "Nonsunts," or the "Twelff penny grote" of Francis

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<sup>5</sup> "View of the Coinage," p. 53.

<sup>6</sup> Dalzell's "Fragments," p. 14; Balfour's "An.," vol. i. p. 342.

<sup>7</sup> "Scots Acts," vol. iii. p. 39, c. 24.

<sup>8</sup> "Scots Acts," vol. iii. p. 43, c. 72.

and Mary, were to pass for six pence: "babeis," (the Edinburgh and Stirling placks) for three pence; "plakkis," (possibly those with the legend "servio," &c.), for two pence; "hardheads," for half-pennies; and "penyis" to stand as they were.

The Treasurer's accounts<sup>9</sup> for this year show the names and wages of the officials of the Mint, and no change appears to have taken place since 1564, except that Gray, the "sinkar of the Irinis," gets a larger sum, probably owing to the new dies required for the "James Ryall." A lease of the Mint for ten years, from February, 1567, was entered into with Robert Richardson, at a yearly rent of £3,333 6s. 8d.; but it does not appear to have continued more than three years.

1570. The measures for preventing the importation of base money seem to some extent to have failed. For in 1570, the Convention of Boroughs<sup>10</sup> supplicated the Lords of Articles to make inquisition and punish those who were found importing false hardheads or placks, so that innocent merchants might be cleared.

An act of the Privy Council of this year, relates to the half-merk or quarter-merk, coins which appear almost immediately. From a "discharge of the cunze of half-merkis and xld. pecis" in the Treasurer's accounts, it appears that the profit arising from every stone of sixteen pounds, "passing the Irnis" of silver, eleven penny fine, was twenty pounds; and the profit arising from the coinage of the half-merk and forty-penny pieces, was fourteen pounds ten shillings and ten pence per stone.

1571. Among the manuscript collections of the late Earl of Haddington preserved in the Advocates' Library,

<sup>9</sup> "Registrum Compotorum Thesaurii." (MS. Reg. Ho. Edin.)

<sup>10</sup> "Records of the Convention of Boroughs," p. 22.



Edinburgh,<sup>11</sup> is an act of the Privy Council ordering two new silver coins to be struck, of nine penny fine; one to weigh 11 den. 12 grains, and to pass current for 13/4. It was to have on the obverse the royal arms crowned with the legend, "Jacobus Dei gratia Rex Scotorum;" and on the reverse a crowned thistle with the legend, "Nemo impune ledet, 1571," and the value marked on the sides of the thistle. If this money ever was minted, it must have been in very small quantities, for I am not aware of the existence of a single specimen. Though this act is not noticed either by Cardonnell or Lindsay, it is referred to by Ruddiman in his Preface to Anderson's "Diplomata Scotiæ."<sup>12</sup> In this year we first find the appointment of a "counter wardane" (David Adamsone), mentioned in the Treasurer's accounts at a yearly salary of £40. The other officials remain unchanged.

1572. Towards the end of the month of March, of the following year, the Mint erected in the Castle of Edinburgh was employed, according to the author of the "Diurnal of Occurrents,"<sup>13</sup> in producing the xxx/ pieces of the Queen. If this was the case, either the old dies, with the former date, were used, or the quantity minted was very small, since no "ryall" with that date is known. On the 12th of May, an act of the Privy Council<sup>14</sup> was passed at Leith, ordering two new coins immediately to be issued, one to be called the half-merk piece, and to be current for 6/8; and the other to be known as the "forty-penny piece," to be current for 3/4. The type and legends are minutely specified, but the fineness is

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<sup>11</sup> Haddington MSS., fol. 158a.

<sup>12</sup> "Dip. et Numis. Scot. Thes.," p. 74.

<sup>13</sup> Maitland Club, pp. 261, 291.

<sup>14</sup> P. C. R., pp. 118, 119.

not mentioned. Other authorities, however, show that it was very base. In the "Diurnal of Occurrents,"<sup>15</sup> it is mentioned that they were only six penny fine, and were proclaimed at Leith to have passage throughout the realm for good and lawful money.<sup>16</sup>

The base coinage was minted at Dalkeith, as appears from a letter of Sir William Drury to Lord Burleigh, preserved in the State Paper Office.<sup>17</sup> The Mint at Edinburgh was also in operation at the same period, but the money produced there was not recognised by the Regent and his party, though one account says it was seized and broken down to be recoined into the half and quarter merks.<sup>18</sup> The mint at Dalkeith does not seem to have been in operation for any length of time, as in 1573 an entry occurs in the accounts of the Treasurer of "xiiij<sup>li</sup> x<sup>s</sup> . . . payit . . . for carrying and transporting of the haill necessaris and worklumis appartening to the cunzehous fra the Castele of Dalkeyth to the Palice of Halyrudhous."

In August, 1572, an act of the Privy Council was passed, directing that in consequence of the placks with the date 1557 having been counterfeited, as well as the half-merk and forty-penny pieces lately issued, no one is to take payment in these placks until the Parliament takes order in the matter, which did not take place till March, 1574. No one, under pain of treason, was permitted to sell silver, coined or uncoined, to any one who counterfeited or adulterated the half-merk or forty-penny

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<sup>15</sup> Pp. 297, 298.

<sup>16</sup> Crauford's "Memoirs," p. 224; "Historie of James Sext," p. 274.

<sup>17</sup> Cal. State Papers, Scot., i. p. 343.

<sup>18</sup> Cal. State Papers, Scot., i. p. 357; "Diurnal of Occurrents," p. 312.

pieces. All bullion was ordered to be brought to the master coiner, and Provosts and other officers of boroughs were directed to search for and imprison all who contravened this act.

1573. Great quantities of false and adulterated money being imported into the country, especially from Flanders, the Privy Council ordered, by an act passed at Holyrood on the 12th July, that all importers of false coins were to be strictly punished.

1574. The Regent applied in 1574 to the Provost, Baillies, and Council of Edinburgh, to supply him with fine silver for the use of the "cunzehous;" but this request was declined.<sup>19</sup> Soon after all the boroughs were summoned to pay up the arrears of bullion due by them. The convention offered to compound this for one payment of 10,000 merks, but the Regent would not accede to their proposal. Shortly afterwards, however, "after lang resonynge," he was prevailed on to take £10,000 in full of all arrears in time past, and for all sums payable during his reign.

In October an act of Privy Council was passed at Dalkeith, forbidding any one to transport gold or silver out of the kingdom till the next meeting of Parliament, under heavy penalties. On the 5th of March, the Parliament of Scotland passed an act which is identically the same as a proclamation ordered by the Privy Council of the same date.<sup>20</sup> This act provided that the placks of 1557 were to be current for two pence, and the lions or hardheads for one penny; and that all persons having these, were to bring them to John Carmichael, Warden of the Mint, who was directed to clip all that were false,

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<sup>19</sup> "Records of Convention of Boroughs," pp. 28, 37, 43.

<sup>20</sup> "Scots Acts," vol. iii. p. 92; Cal. State Papers, vol. i. 385.

and to countermark those that were good with a heart and star. This is another corroboration of the opinion formerly hazarded, that the placks of Mary's reign were those with the legend "servio," &c., and the date 1557; and that the "babeis" were the Edinburgh and Stirling billon pieces now generally, though erroneously, known as placks.

1575. The author of the "Diurnal of Occurrents,"<sup>21</sup> notes a proclamation made at the beginning of 1575, forbidding any one to refuse any "mucats," or hardheads, or half-merk pieces, under pain of death. It is not certain what coin is referred to as "mucats." Another proclamation was made in April,<sup>22</sup> calling down the Dalkeith money to its real value, or nearly one-half of what it was formerly current for. The originals of these proclamations are not at the Register House, and the exact terms of the acts are not given. It is said that these regulations about the money made the Regent very unpopular.<sup>23</sup> He had apparently some desire to improve the coinage, for in October he wrote to Walsingham for permission to get some tools for coining for one Michael Sim, whose name, however, does not appear in the records of the Mint.<sup>24</sup> In November the fine and rare twenty-pound piece, weighing one ounce Scottish, was struck in the Castle of Edinburgh. The author of the "Historie of James Sext" (printed by the Maitland Club), expressly tells us that this beautiful piece was intended for circulation, and was not a medal as some

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<sup>21</sup> P. 347.

<sup>22</sup> Crauford's "Memoirs," p. 279.

<sup>23</sup> State Papers Scotland, Eliz., vol. 26, m. 74.

<sup>24</sup> Cal. State Papers, Scot., vol. i. p. 393.

<sup>25</sup> "Crauford's Memoirs," p. 285; "Historie of James Sext," p. 158.

have supposed. He relates, that "before that year (1575) was ended, he (the Regent) caused a new piece of gold to be imprinted of the weight of one ounce, and ordained it to have course in the country for the avail of 20 pounds in money."

In Melville's "Memoirs"<sup>26</sup> it is stated that on one occasion the Regent presented twenty-five of these pieces to some friend, which he would hardly have done had they been struck as medals. False money was evidently still in circulation, for in November the Privy Council took some action with Uthrid Macdowell, of Mondork, for issuing false money.

1576. The gold seekers in Craufurd Moor, Roberton and Henderland, were ordered, by an act of the Privy Council, to bring all the gold they found to the Royal Mint at the accustomed rates, and not to sell it for exportation.

On the 5th of March a contract "anent the cunze," was entered upon between the Regent Morton, John Acheson, Master of the Mint, and Abraham Petersoun, "flemyng," in which it was provided that Acheson should receive all the silver brought to him, and should hand it over to Peterson to be reduced to the "fynnes of aucht deneiris," and thereafter it was to be forged and printed by the Master of the Mint into half-merk and forty-penny pieces. Five shillings were allowed for each merk weight of coined money, for the expense of coining, alloy, &c., to the master coiner, who was to give the "flemyng" two deniers' weight of silver for each merk melted and made ready by him for the coiners. All gold was similarly to be reduced to xxii carats or xxii½ carats,

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<sup>26</sup> P. 151, ed. 1735.

as should be appointed, and two grains of remedy of weight were allowed on each piece containing one ounce weight—another proof that the twenty-pound piece was a coin and not a medal. Mention is made in the contract of ten-pound pieces and five-pound pieces; two shillings were to be allowed to Acheson for each ounce of coined gold, out of which he was to pay ninepence to Peterson for his share of the work.

1577. In May the Regent and Privy Council directed a proclamation to be made, forbidding any one to transport gold or silver out of the kingdom; and more especially it was declared illegal to take away “his hienes awin siluer money of testanis and xxx, xx, and x schilling pecis,” under pain of forfeiture of the money and moveables, not only of the offender, but also of the owner and captain of the ship in which it might be taken; and the ship itself was to be forfeited.

Towards the close of the year the King assumed the government himself, and sent certain Commissioners to the Earl of Morton, desiring him to give up the “irenis of the cunziehous,” which was accordingly done.

1578. The Parliament of Scotland met at Stirling on the 25th of July, 1578, and passed an act<sup>27</sup> ordering the coinage of a piece of silver of the fineness of eleven deniers, and giving full power to the Privy Council to give directions about the type, weight, and value of the said piece. It was also declared illegal to export Scottish money out of the kingdom. Accordingly, on the 29th of July, the Privy Council ordered all the silver pieces to be brought to the Mint before the first day of March, and delivered to the Master of the Mint, and 82/ to be paid

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<sup>27</sup> “Scots Acts,” vol. iii. p. 108, c. 23.

for the xxx/ piece, and so on at the same rate. All the good money was ordered to be countermarked with a crowned thistle, and re-issued from the Mint at the rate of 36/9 for the xxx/ piece, and others at the same proportion. None were to be current at all unless they were countermarked. This price could not have been of long continuance; and according to Moysie,<sup>28</sup> these alterations in the value of the money were altogether "mislykit be the commone pepill."

On the 18th of September, an act of the Privy Council given at Stirling, referring to the Act of Parliament already mentioned, ordered the coinage of a piece of silver of the fineness of eleven deniers, to be called the two-merk piece, and to be current for 26/8, with the half in proportion. The type is minutely described, and the coin is now known as the rare "thistle dollar," though the name given to it in the above is a more accurate designation. A new gold piece was also ordered by this act. It was to be called the Scottish crown, and was to pass for forty shillings. The standard was to be twenty-one carats fine. The type is minutely described, both in the parliamentary statute which followed shortly after, and in the act of Privy Council; and the non-appearance of the coin in any collection has puzzled Scottish Numismatists not a little. Lindsay<sup>29</sup> says, "Of the coinage described and ordered by the act of 1579—if, indeed, it ever took effect—no specimens now remain." But it will be seen that a later act of the Privy Council altered the type and value of the gold coinage; and it is now certain that the Scottish crown was never issued. The act of the Privy Council authorising these alterations is

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<sup>28</sup> "Memoirs," p. 10; "Records of Convention of Burghs," p. 560.

<sup>29</sup> "View of the Scottish Coinage," p. 148.

almost identical in terms with the parliamentary act of 1579, immediately to be noticed. The ounce of gold was to cost £20 at the Mint, and the ounce of silver 34/. On the same date, another act of Privy Council declared that any one who refused to take the silver coins, counter-marked as directed by the act already noticed, should suffer death and confiscation of goods. As the silver coinage was not coming into the Mint, a later act of Privy Council extended the time from the 1st of March to the 1st of May.

1579. At Stirling, on the 15th of May of the following year, the Privy Council ordered a proclamation to be made extending this period still further—first to August, and then to the 20th of October.

In the Register of the Privy Seal is a letter of this date confirming to the various officers of the Mint the privileges and immunities they had enjoyed from the very earliest period.

In October<sup>30</sup> the Scottish Parliament passed an act ratifying the acts of the Privy Council, as to the proposed silver two-merk piece and the Scots gold crown. These two-merk pieces, with the halves corresponding, were only coined in 1578, 1579, and 1580. Lindsay<sup>31</sup> is incorrect in supposing that the silver pieces with the crowned thistle and the date 1581 belonged to this series. It will be seen that the coinage of 1581 had no connection with the thistle dollars. Wingate<sup>32</sup> suggests some doubt about the commonly received names for these coins, though in describing the accurately drawn plates of his work, he erroneously calls the sixteen-shilling piece of

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<sup>30</sup> Vol. iii. p. 150, c. 81.

<sup>31</sup> "View of the Coinage of Scotland," p. 279.

<sup>32</sup> "Illustrations of Scottish coinage," p. 110.



1581 the half-thistle dollar.<sup>33</sup> Perhaps the extreme rarity of this merk piece may have caused this confusion. It is not described in Lindsay's Descriptive Catalogue, though the specimen existing in the Sutherland Collection was communicated to him; and in his notice of the thistle dollar he has confused the English and Scottish weights. A specimen of the merk piece existing in my own cabinet, formerly in the Wigan Collection, was noticed lately in the Numismatic Chronicle, and I have since got another one of 1578. The act of this year fixes the price of the ounce of fine silver at 36/, and the ounce of fine gold at £21.

1580. An act of Privy Council, dated the 28th day of April, altered the act of Parliament of the preceding October, and ordered, in place of the gold piece therein authorised, another coin, double the weight and value, to be called the Scottish ducat (now commonly called the bareheaded noble). The price of fine gold is fixed by this act of Council at £21 the ounce, the same rate as formerly. Shortly afterwards (4th May) another act of Privy Council authorised the coinage of six hundred stone weight of silver into half-merk and forty-penny pieces, "beirand the like forme circumscription wecht and fynes as they are presentlie current within this realme."

In October a payment occurs in the Treasurer's accounts<sup>34</sup> to G. Hay for some repairs in the "cunzehous," but without any details. From another entry<sup>35</sup> in the same record, it appears that F. Gray was the graver of the dies of the new coinage of gold.

On the 27th of February the Privy Council and Estates

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<sup>33</sup> P. 115, Pl. 35, fig. 14.

<sup>34</sup> Comp. Thes. MS. Reg. Ho.

<sup>35</sup> December, 1580.

convened in Parliament passed acts<sup>36</sup> ordering all the base money within the realm (except the stamped placks and pennies), to be reformed to the fineness of eleven deniers, with two grains of remedy as well under as above; and to be recoined in such form as the Privy Council might order. It appears from an act of Privy Council in 1581, that they ordered the coinage of the 16/, 8/, 4/, and 2/ pieces (of which the type is correctly given), of eleven penny fine. The weights, &c., are referred to a contract which, it will be seen, cannot now be found. These pieces were not minted till 1581. The act of Parliament also sanctioned the issue of the ducat, and fixed the price of silver at the Mint at 44/ per ounce.

Authority was also given to the Privy Council to let the Mint and its profits.

1581. The Privy Council, in July, ordered a proclamation to be made in all the chief boroughs of the country to the effect that all should receive the late coinage of thistle two-merk pieces and gold ducats, and that it was illegal to break down any coined money of the realm.

Four months later, we find an act of the Scottish Parliament<sup>37</sup> putting an end to the contract about the money which had been entered into with Alexander Clerk, of Balbirnie, and others, evidently the one above noticed, and recalling the silver coinage they had issued. It appears from a later Privy Council minute that this contract was to last for three years, but it was put an end to on account of the coinage being so unprofitable.<sup>38</sup> The coinage was the crown thistle series, with the date

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<sup>36</sup> Vol. iii. p. 191, P. C. R., 27 February 1580.

<sup>37</sup> Vol. iii. p. 215, c. 10.

<sup>38</sup> July, 1582. Acts iii. p. 402.

1581. It is fully described in a *résumé* of the act of Privy Council of 1586, prefixed to one of the following year. They are called 16/, 8/, 4/, and 2/-pieces, and are of great rarity, especially the smaller parts. As the original contract cannot now be discovered, we do not know the conditions; but as the 16/-piece weighs generally 170 grains, silver must still have been at 44/ the ounce—the price fixed by the Act of Parliament of 1580. This Act further sanctioned the coinage of ten-shilling pieces, each to weigh a quarter of an ounce, and to be eleven penny fine. The type is minutely described, but no higher denomination is mentioned, nor are the usual remedies of weight and fineness allowed. These omissions are corrected by an act of Privy Council at the close of the year. The dies for this new coinage were prepared by Thomas Foulis, from a likeness of the King drawn by Lord Seytoun's painter.<sup>39</sup> These pieces were not struck at the Mint, which was then in a ruinous state, but in the house of Archibald Stewart, in Edinburgh.

In Moysie's memoirs it is stated that a certain Thomas Rorestoun was forfeited for false coining in this year.

1582. On the 25th of March an act of Privy Council authorised Thomas Aitchison, master coiner, to buy all silver of eleven penny fine for 37/ the ounce, and coin it again into ten-shilling pieces.

A curious case occurs in the Minutes of Council of 4th April. John Achesoun, late Master of the Mint, raised an action against Thomas Achesoun, the then Master, to compel him to pay £10,000, which the said John had expended for the King's use; and Thomas Achesoun is ordered to repay certain sums accordingly. At the same time the

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<sup>39</sup> Comp. Thes., Feb. 1581.

Council order pieces of an ounce weight, three-quarters, and half, as well as the quarter, lately authorised to be struck. These were to be of the value of  $xl/$ ,  $xxx/$ , and  $xx/$  respectively, and were in all respects, except weight and value, to be similar to the quarter ounce, or  $x/$  piece. Specimen coins<sup>40</sup> of each sort, of this coinage, were ordered to be given to the Clerk of Registers, Clerk of Privy Council, Lyon Herald, and various other officials. This seems to have been the general custom with every new issue at this period. It is difficult to account for the rarity of the forty-shilling piece at the present time. It was evidently struck in considerable quantity, and was in ordinary circulation, as in 1593 an act of Privy Council raised the value to  $42/$ . The other coins of the series are not rare, and there is nothing in the Records to show that the issue of the  $40/$  pieces was more restricted than the others.

In July the Privy Council specially released Alexander Clerk, of Balbirnie, and the other partners in the late contract of the Mint, from their obligations, on condition that they should reduce the coinage of  $16/$  pieces to the price of forty shillings the ounce. An Act of Parliament was ordered to be passed to this effect.

A very curious "Compt of the coynehous maid be Thomas Achesoune," preserved in the Register House at Edinburgh, shows the coinage of this year. From 1st April, 1582, to 1st May, 1583, 607 st. 7 pounds of silver were coined into  $xl/$ ,  $xxx/$ ,  $xx/$ , and  $x/$  pieces. The master coiner charges himself with the sum of £12,845 16s. 11d., and accounts for payments amounting to £17,928 6s. 10d.; so that as the "compt" bears, the "compter is superex-

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<sup>40</sup> Compt. Thes. Reg. Ho. Edin.

pendit in the sowme of v<sup>m</sup>LXXXI<sup>l</sup> IX<sup>s</sup> xj<sup>d</sup>” pounds. Among the payments we find £2,000 to John Robertson and David Williamson “for clayth tane of to the King’s maiestie.” Presents of specimen coins to the various officials are duly entered, and also for the “Wairdens collis twa zeir, ilk zeir xls.”

A will made by Mr. Clement Little, advocate,<sup>41</sup> shows how many foreign coins were current at this period in Scotland, and gives their value, as well as those of the native coinage, in currency. Thus:—

	£	s.	d.
Crowns of the sun . . .	=	2	2 0
Rose nobles . . .	=	6	0 0
Harry nobles . . .	=	4	16 0
Angel nobles . . .	=	3	8 0
Portugal ducat . . .	=	25	0 0
Abbey crowns . . .	=	2	0 0
English crowns . . .	=	2	2 0
Little ducats . . .	=	2	4 0
Demy . . .	=	2	0 0
Riders . . .	=	2	16 0
Two-pound piece . . .	=	3	6 8
Unicorns . . .	=	2	0 0
Pistolets . . .	=	2	0 0
Ryalls . . .	=	3	6 8
Lions . . .	=	3	6 8
Three-pound piece . . .	=	4	0 0
Forty-eight shilling piece	=	2	16 0
Double ducat . . .	=	4	16 0

Of Silver coins we find:—

Countermarked xxx/ pieces .	=	36s. 9d.
Countermarked xx/ pieces .	=	24s. 6d.
English testoons . . .	=	6s. 8d.
Scottish testoons . . .	=	6s. 8d.
Dollars . . .	=	28s.
x/ piece . . .	=	12s. 3d.

1583. In December a proclamation was made calling in the 12<sup>d</sup>. pieces, babeis and placks, as well as the

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<sup>41</sup> Edin. Testa., vol. ii. 20, Feb. 1582.

3<sup>d</sup>. groats and half-placks then current, and ordering them to be recoined into groats of threepenny fine at 8<sup>d</sup>. each, and half-groats corresponding. The usual remedies are allowed, and 135 of the groats are to be in the merk weight, with an allowance of eight as remedy in every merk. The type and legends are minutely specified in the act.

As very little of the billon money mentioned above was brought in by the time named, another proclamation was made in January, allowing twelve pence per ounce more.

Even this does not seem to have produced the desired effect, for in February a third proclamation was made forbidding the course of the twelve penny pieces and placks within the city and sherifffdom of Edinburgh and the constabulary of Haddington, though allowing them to be current in more remote districts in the mean time.

Many of the common people appear to have doubted the new coinage; and, to remedy this, certain lords of the Privy Council, with the Provost and Baillies of Edinburgh, and other skilled persons, were appointed to report as to whether the conditions of the contract were carried out. Accordingly, in the end of the year a proclamation was made, stating that these commissioners had found the coinage of placks conformable in all respects to the act, and equal in fineness to the half-mark and forty-penny pieces.

In this year Thomas Foullis was appointed sinker of the dies at the Mint during his life.

1584. The price of silver was raised by a proclamation of the Privy Council, in April, 1584, to 37s. 6d. per ounce of eleven penny fine, and in May, an act of Parliament<sup>42</sup> was passed, ratifying and approving of the new

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<sup>42</sup> "Scots Acts," vol. iii. pp. 310, 311, c. 28, 29.

coinage of placks, proclaimed in the year preceding. This act was immediately followed by another, authorising the issue of two new gold pieces of  $21\frac{1}{2}$  carat fine, to weigh respectively  $78\frac{3}{4}$  and  $52\frac{1}{2}$  grains. The Lords of the Privy Council were directed to fix the type, legends, remedies, &c. These pieces were commonly known as the lion noble and the lion crown, the latter being two-thirds of the value of the former. There is no mention made in the parliamentary enactment of the half lion crown (or one-third lion, as it is now called). The lion noble was to be current for £3 15s., and the lion crown for £2 13s.

In August a proclamation was made for the purpose of prolonging the time for receiving the old placks till the 15th of October, but this provision was only to apply to places, distant twenty-five miles and upwards from Edinburgh. A few days afterwards, the Privy Council considered the proposed new coinage of gold, and added to it the half lion crown. The type is minutely described, and one-sixth of a carat is allowed in each piece as remedy for purity and one grain for remedy of weight.

1585. During the following year the plague raged with great violence in Edinburgh, and the Privy Council, having convened at Dunfermline, ordered the General of the Mint to pass to Dundee with all the furniture and coining tools, and there to continue the coining of gold, silver, and alloyed money. The legend on the placks was to be "Oppidum Dundie," instead of "Oppidum Edinburghi," and the coins were to be struck "eikand ane ring within the lettres as they have alreddy outwith the same quhairevir it sall happin the said money to be wrocht." Whether any money was ever struck at

Dundee or not is uncertain, but in October, another act of Privy Council, ordered the Mint, with all its appliances, to be removed to Perth, as the plague was then raging in Dundee as well as in Edinburgh. Similar instructions were laid down altering the legend from Edinburgh to Perth. There is a probability that some money was struck at Perth, as a proclamation exists in the records of the Privy Council, ordering the officers of the Mint forthwith to proceed here, and to continue the issue of the alloyed money, as owing to the former prevalence of the plague, "the officiaris of his hienes cunzie hes bene constraint to ly ydill . . . to the grite hinder of his maiesties proffite."

1586. On the 10th of May, 1586, certain commissioners, appointed by the King, proceeded to the Mint, and there opened the boxes, containing the assays of all the coinages issued while John Acheson and Thomas Acheson were Masters of the Mint. These commissioners appeared personally before the Privy Council on the 10th of December, and reported the result of their trials. This report is interesting as giving the dates of the various coinages. From it we learn that the half-merk and forty-penny pieces were struck from April, 1577, to August, 1580; the thistle two-merk and merk piece from 16th of December, 1579, to 24th of August, 1580; the gold ducat, from 2nd of August to 29th of November, 1580; the lion noble, crown and half, from the 2nd of November, 1584, to 18th of April, 1586; the xxx/, xx/, and x/, pieces from 6th of April, 1582, to 18th of May, 1586; the 16/ and 8/ pieces from 25th of June, 1582, to 4th of November of the same year; and the 8*d*. and 4*d*. pieces from 13th of January, 1583, to 10th of May, 1586.



From Thomas Acheson's "Compt of the Cunzie Hous,"<sup>43</sup> still extant, we learn that between the 1st of May, 1583, and 21st of April, 1586, 303 stones 7lbs. of silver were issued in xl/, xxx/, xx/, and x/ pieces, with a profit to the King, on each stone of £22. 2s. 6d. From 13th of January, 1583 to the same date, 1,925 stones 1lb. of silver were issued in eight penny and fourpenny groats, with a profit of £17. 2s. 9d. on the stone. In lion nobles upwards of 96lbs. of gold were coined, the profit on each stone being £220. From this record also it appears that Thomas Foullis made the dies for the gold coins, and also for the billon pieces.

1587. In July of the following year, the Scottish Parliament appointed certain commissioners to confer regarding the state of the current money, and to advise concerning a new coinage of gold of 22 carat fine and a new coinage of silver of eleven denier fine.<sup>44</sup> They were to come to a decision before the first of January, and whatever their determination might be, it was to have the full force of law. Other commissioners were appointed to see how much bullion should be paid by merchants exporting gold out of the realm. The Privy Council, in October, ordered Thomas Acheson, master coiner, and his assistants to coin all the bullion on hand, and to buy in as much more as would make up the whole amount to seven score stone weight. This year's coinage included 61lbs. 5 ozs. of gold issued in lion nobles and lion crowns.

1588. On the 29th of March, Thomas Foullis, sinker, complained to the Lords of the Privy Council, that James Acheson, son of John Acheson, in the Canongate "sinkis and makis Irnes instruments and matriceis . . . albeit the

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<sup>43</sup> Reg. Ho. Edin.

<sup>44</sup> "Scots Acts," vol. iii. p. 437, c. 9.

complenare hes obtenit his maiesteis gift of that office during all the dayis of his lyfityme," and prayed that he might be restrained from so doing. An expedition was sent to the Northern Islands and Highlands under the Earl of Bothwell, and the officers of the Mint were directed by the Privy Council to strike 80 stone weight of 8*d.* and 4*d.* pieces, and the profits arising from this were to be given to provide necessaries for the "companeys of men of weir leyved and appointit to accompany him."

On account of the scarcity of small money, a new billon coinage was authorised by an act of Privy Council in August. This new coinage was issued in twopenny and penny pieces, of 12 grain fine, and forty of the penny pieces were to be in the ounce. The type of both coins (now usually called hard heads) is minutely described. The lion on the reverse of the twopenny, is directed to be in a shield.

This act raised the value of the lion nobles from £3 15*s.* to £4.

The Privy Council, in September, ordered a new coinage, to consist of a piece of gold of the same weight (a quarter of an ounce) and fineness (23 carat 7 grains) as the English rose noble. This coin was to pass current for £7 6*s.* 8*d.* Thomas Foullis was the engraver of the dies for this coinage. A half, similar in type and fineness, was also authorised; but this coin, if it exists at all, must be very rare.

In November, it was reported to the Privy Council that the twopenny pieces authorised in August, were often passed by designing persons on the unsuspecting as eightpenny pieces from the similarity of type on the obverse of the one and the reverse of the other; and it was accordingly ordered by the Council, that for the

future, the shield on the reverse of the twopenny pieces, be omitted, and that two dots be placed behind the lion.

1589. The king was in debt to Sir Robert Melville, the Treasurer Depute, and with the consent of his Council, assigned the profits of the Mint to him till the debt was paid. The act authorising this is recorded in the Books of the Privy Council in March 1589.

1590. In June of the following year, a parliament convened at Edinburgh, and certain proposals about reducing the standard of the silver coins to the same as that of England,<sup>45</sup> were considered. Nothing seems to have been determined, but the matter was remitted to commissioners<sup>46</sup> to report to the following Parliament. According to Balfour, a proclamation was made on September 6th of a new coinage of silver.<sup>47</sup>

1591. A trial of the pix having been made in March, a dispute arose as to how the assay pieces should be disposed of. The General of the Mint claimed them by virtue of the privilege of his office, and the Master Almoner claimed them by order of the King for distribution amongst the poor. The dispute was referred to the Privy Council, who decided against the claim of the Master of the Mint. The report of the commissioners appointed to make the trials of the money, was laid before the Council on the 1st of May, and everything being found correct, the officials of the Mint were fully exonerated from any further action as to their former coinages.

In August, Parliament met at Edinburgh and passed an act<sup>48</sup> "anent the cunzie." This provided that all the

<sup>45</sup> State Papers (Scot.) 7 Eliz., vol. xlv. No. 65.

<sup>46</sup> State Papers (Scot.) Eliz., vol. xlvi. No. 18.

<sup>47</sup> "Annals," vol. i. p. 389.

<sup>48</sup> "Scots Acts," vol. iii. p. 526.

gold except the thistle nobles should be reduced to the standard of 22 carat fine, and that the ounce should be set out at £27. The gold was to be struck in coins each current for £4, and 54 pieces to be in the merk weight. These were called hat pieces, from the type. A half is mentioned in the act, but it is doubtful if any such was ever struck.

Similarly, all the silver was to be reduced to  $10\frac{1}{2}$  denier fine, and set forth at forty-four shillings the ounce. The merk weight was to contain  $54\frac{2}{3}$  of the largest pieces, or double that number of the halves. These coins are called now balance *merks*, a mistake which first originated with Snelling and has been copied without enquiry by every succeeding writer. They are, in point of fact, *half merks*, being current for  $\frac{6}{8}$  and the half for  $\frac{3}{4}$ . They were minted in 1591, 1592 and a few in 1593.

Three years were allowed to reduce the whole coinage of the country to the above standard.

The prices of bullion per ounce were fixed as follows:—

Silver of eleven denier fine . . .	42s.
Silver of ten and a half denier fine . . .	40s.
Silver of eight denier fine . . .	30s. 6d.
Silver of three denier fine . . .	11s. 3d.

Gold of 22 carats fine was to be £24 15s., and other standards in proportion.

Foreign gold coins were allowed to be current at rates specified in the act. Scottish gold coins were raised in value; the old forty-four shilling piece to eighty shillings; the three-pound piece with the Queen's face to six pounds; the four-pound piece with the King's face to four pounds ten shillings, and the lion noble to four pounds. On the 8th day of March, the Privy Council finding that the alloyed money under seven deniers fine, which had been

ordered to be called in by the act of Parliament, could not be reissued without great loss, commissioned Thomas Foullis to go to London and make a contract with Sir William Bowes, to mint the coinage as directed by the act. Minute directions are laid down in the contract as to the manner of proceeding.

1592. In 1592, an act of Parliament was passed<sup>49</sup>, ordering that the borough dues, which had hitherto been paid in usual currency of the kingdom, be in future paid in sterling money.

1593. Parliament met at Edinburgh, and on the 3rd of April directed certain commissioners to look into the coinage, with power to issue a new one, if deemed advisable.

The result of this commission was embodied in an act<sup>50</sup> which provided for the coinage of a billon piece of one denier fine, with the usual remedies, to be current for four pence. The type is minutely described (Lindsay, 17, 52). Eight score were to be in the merk weight, with eight pieces as remedy. This would make the full weight of the coin about  $23\frac{1}{2}$  grains troy of the modern standard. As the amount coined was limited, these fourpenny pieces are very rare. On the 17th of January an act of Parliament was passed,<sup>51</sup> which ordered a new coinage of gold and silver. The provisions of this act were embodied in the contract entered into immediately afterwards with the town of Edinburgh.

On the 21st January<sup>52</sup> the General of the Mint, Sir A. Napier, of Edinbillie, appeared before the Privy Council and recorded his opinion that the price offered for the silver at this time, was too little to make it profitable to

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<sup>49</sup> Vol. iii. p. 561.

<sup>50</sup> Vol. iv. 27, c. 31.

<sup>51</sup> Vol. iv. pp. 48, 49.

<sup>52</sup> P. C. R., p. 280.

coin money eleven penny fine.<sup>53</sup> A few days later a contract was made between the King (with the consent of the Lords of Privy Council) and the Provost and Town Council of Edinburgh, in which it was provided that all the gold be reduced to the fineness of 22 carats, and reissued in pieces weighing six to the ounce, and each to be current for £5. These coins are now known as "Riders," and appear to have been issued down to 1601. The silver was to be made eleven penny fine, and reissued in 10/, 5/, 2/6, and 1/ pieces, at 50/ the ounce. The profits of the Mint were let to the town of Edinburgh for two years and three months, from the 1st of February, 1593; and the tacksmen were empowered to place their "cunzie house" within any town or place in the realm. One hundred and ten thousand merks were to be paid at the weekly rate of one thousand merks as rent.

1594. On the 22nd of April Parliament ratified and approved of the coinages<sup>54</sup> directed in the previous year, and of the tack of the Mint to the Provost and Council of Edinburgh, and further confirmed the former acts relating to bullion.

The Privy Council in July prohibited the currency of the old money under heavy penalties; and in November appointed certain commissioners to consult and advise regarding the form and order of the exchange of gold and silver, and to report to next Parliament.

Birrell notes in his Diary<sup>55</sup> that the 4*d*. placks were proclaimed on the 7th January, which seems a long time after the passing of the act authorising the coinage. He also says they were discharged by proclamation on the 19th, which, if it is the case, will be another reason for their great rarity.

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<sup>53</sup> P. C. R. p. 282. <sup>54</sup> Vol. iv. p. 85, c. 74, 75. <sup>55</sup> P. 32.

In January the Privy Council again ordered, in more stringent terms than before, the former coinages no longer to be received as currency, and especially the old Rose Noble of England, which had been made current by a special proclamation (not preserved) in Aberdeen, for the temporary purpose of paying the soldiers there.

1596. No change seems to have taken place in the coinage for some time. In May, 1596, an act of Parliament is found against false coiners.<sup>66</sup> A curious document, with the date August, 1596, is preserved in the Register House. It contains the prices at which all kinds of gold and silver coins are to be brought into the Mint, and the royal profit upon the coinages issued. From this it appears that every stone weight of gold coined of 22 carat fine produced to the King £563 3s. 4d., or at the rate of 44/ per ounce. Every stone of silver of eleven penny fine produced £38 18s. Out of every stone of gold twelve pounds were to be minted into £5 pieces, and four pounds into the halves. The amounts to be struck in each sort of coin out of the stone weight of silver are left blank in the original, except the 12d. pieces, of which one pound in every stone was to be minted. The prices of the gold per ounce are laid down as follows:—

Old rose nobles . . . . .	}	Of the fineness of 23 carats 8 grs. at £29 11s. 8d.
Old angel nobles . . . . .		
Harry nobles . . . . .		
Old Portugal ducats . . . . .		
Scottish rose nobles . . . . .	}	Of the fineness of 23 carats 7 grs. at £29 7s. 6d.
Double ducats . . . . .		
Crossed ducats . . . . .		
Hungary ducats . . . . .		
Gun-hole nobles . . . . .	}	23 carat fine at £28 15s.
Harry ducats . . . . .		
Crowns of the sun . . . . .	}	Of the fineness of 22 carats 6 grs. at £28 2s. 6d.

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<sup>66</sup> Vol. iv. p. 97.

Spanish pistolets . . . . .	} 22 carats fine, £27 10s.
Scottish three-pound pieces . . . . .	
Forty-four shilling pieces . . . . .	
English royal . . . . .	
The lately-issued four-pound piece . . . . .	
The lately-issued English crowns . . . . .	
Ducats . . . . .	} Of the fineness of £21 carats 6 grs. at £26 17s. 6d.
Side coat lions . . . . .	
Demies . . . . .	} Of the fineness of 21 carats, £26 5s.
Three pound fifteen-shilling pieces . . . . .	
Old four-pound pieces . . . . .	
Scottish unicorns . . . . .	
Abbey crowns . . . . .	

This table gives an idea of the coins current at the time, and supplies some blanks in the fineness of some of the native gold coins, of which the records have not been preserved. Of silver coins we have—

Spanish Ryalls of 11 dwts. 4 grs. fine, at 46s. 8d. the ounce.

French quarter ecus . . . . .	} 11 den. fine, at 46s. the ounce.
xl/, xxx/, xx/, x/ pieces . . . . .	
Two-merk pieces . . . . .	
16/, 8/, 4/ . . . . .	
Scottish testoons . . . . .	
English money of 11 penny fine . . . . .	} 10½ den. fine, at 44s. the ounce.
New half-merk pieces . . . . .	
Forty-penny pieces . . . . .	
Old French testoons . . . . .	} 10 den. fine, at 41s. 8d. the ounce.
French francs . . . . .	
Douglas groats . . . . .	} 9 den. fine, at 37s. 6d. the ounce.
Scottish testoons, called Duke's testoons . . . . .	
Old half-merk pieces . . . . .	} 8 den. fine, at 30s. the ounce.
Forty-penny pieces . . . . .	

It is curious to find the xl/ piece current, while the merk piece of 1578, 1579, 1580, and the 2/ piece of 1581, are even then out of common circulation.

At the close of this year, on the 4th of March, an act of Parliament gave power to certain commissioners<sup>67</sup> to confer regarding a new coinage, keeping the present fineness and value; but differing (if thought fit) in proportion and type. Commissioners were also appointed to

<sup>67</sup> Vol. iv. p. 113.



treat with the commissioners of boroughs regarding the payment of the customs.

1597. In April, 1597, Ja. Acheson presented an overture to the King, recommending a coinage of small money in pure copper. This paper is very interesting, for in it he states that he has discovered "a new forme of wirking and wark lumes thair to," so that "thair sall be na pece of money ather gold, siluer, or copper, acording to thair quantitie and wecht that sall be ane grane heavier or lichter, thikker or thinner, braider or naroe, ane nor another. . . . And farder, the money sall be sa weill prentit, that na pece thairof sall want ony thing of the superscriptioun." He also recommends the King to repair his own Mint, and begs him "to visite your awin wark as ze was accustumit to do."

The following month the Scottish Parliament met at Dundee,<sup>58</sup> and passed several measures relating to the coinage. The first of these appoints certain commissioners to frame a table of the prices of all the gold and silver, according to their value, weight, and fineness, and to affix the same in the house of exchange, that all may know the rates at which the money was to be current.

The next act<sup>59</sup> laid down the value at which various coins were to be taken after the 17th of May. Silver of *xid.* fine was to be at 50/ the ounce; the new *xxx/* pieces were to pass current for 37/6, as they weighed only three-quarters of an ounce.<sup>60</sup> The ounce of gold of 22 carat was to stand at £30. All foreign coin was to be brought into the Mint and exchanged; an ounce of coin of *xid.* fine being given for an ounce of bullion of *xiid.* fine; the difference being the profit.

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<sup>58</sup> "Scots Acts," vol. iv. p. 119.      <sup>59</sup> Vol. iv. p. 121.

<sup>60</sup> Moysie's "Memoirs," p. 134.

It was further provided by the same Parliament that one hundred stone weight of copper, unmixed with any other kind of metal, be wrought and forged "in ane miln," in twopenny and penny pieces; each penny was to weigh one denier and twelve grains, and sixty-four of the twopenny pieces were to be in a merk weight. The type is also minutely described (Lindsay, Pl. 17, figs. 53, 54). No one was bound to take more than twelve pence in payment in copper coins. It is stated in Birrell's Diary,<sup>61</sup> that the proclamation of these coins was made on the 23rd of May, and on the 23rd of June another was made for taking the "cunziehouse." Almost immediately afterwards the whole of the officials of the Mint were discharged by an act of Privy Council, of July the 21st, and all the irons and other instruments were ordered to be delivered up to the Lord Treasurer. No cause is stated for this; but on the 18th of August they were all reinstated, and the irons and instruments were returned to them.

Parliament met at Edinburgh,<sup>62</sup> and on 1st November ratified and confirmed the acts made before at Dundee, and among others those relating to the coinage already mentioned.

1598. That these measures about the coinage were not popular is apparent from a letter preserved among the State Papers relating to Scotland,<sup>63</sup> in which Nicolson, writing to Lord Burleigh, mentions the discontent among the people at this time in consequence of the Mint being set up again. The Parliament on the last day of June permitted the Lord Treasurer to let the Mint.

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<sup>61</sup> P. 14.

<sup>62</sup> Vol. iv. p. 134, c. 20, c. 66.

<sup>63</sup> Eliz., vol. 62, No. 13, 29th March.

On the 22nd of July the Privy Council passed an act,<sup>64</sup> in which in reference is made to this Parliamentary measure of the previous June, giving a tack of the Mint for six years to Thomas Foullis. The Council ordered the half of all penalties for breaches of the laws about money to be paid to the aforesaid Thomas Foullis.

Considerable quantities of false money were at this time in circulation. Several persons suspected of coining were apprehended in the North, and an act of the Privy Council, in August, directs them to be brought to Edinburgh and there tried.

On the last day of October Parliament met,<sup>65</sup> and the first act passed relating to coinage permitted foreign coin to be current at certain rates specified. Foreign silver of eleven penny fine was to be current for 48/ the ounce, and foreign gold of 22 carat for £28 16s. A long list of the various foreign coins, with their weights and values, are given. Besides these, the thistle noble of Scotland is raised to £7 16s.; the hat piece to £4 9s.; and the lion piece to £5. All other native gold coins of 22 carat fine are to be current at £30 the ounce.

In December Parliament met at Holyrood, and passed another act as to the values of the various coins,<sup>66</sup> which was followed on the 18th of the same month by a proclamation by the Privy Council, altering the standards fixed in October very considerably.<sup>67</sup> Foreign silver of eleven deniers fine was to be current for 50/, while the same weight and fineness of native currency was to pass for 53/4. Foreign gold of 22 carat was to be £30 the

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<sup>64</sup> Vol. iv. p. 154.

<sup>65</sup> Vol. iv. p. 175.

<sup>66</sup> Vol. iv. p. 178.

<sup>67</sup> State Papers, Scotland, Hen. VIII., vol. lxiii. c. 79.

ounce, and Scottish gold of the same standard £32 the ounce. Such constant alterations in the value of money must have seriously interfered with commerce; and it is no wonder that the people were discontented.

1599. On the last day of July Parliament gave commission to the Lords of the Privy Council and certain others, to advise concerning another proposed change in the value of money, by making the ounce of silver 60/, and gold proportionally higher. This was not carried into effect apparently, for in September an act of Privy Council continued the act of Parliament of the previous December, but prohibited the course of any foreign coins for the future.

1600. The Parliament of 1600 passed an act confirming the action of the Parliament and Privy Council of the preceding year, and directing measures to be taken for providing bullion for the Mint.

1601. On the 8th of May a proclamation was made by the Privy Council, warning every one against some false money which had been found in considerable quantity, "in the querrell hollis besyd the Cannon-gait," and prohibiting any one from searching there any more.

An act of Parliament,<sup>68</sup> dated 11th September, of this year, ordered the coinage of sword and sceptre gold pieces. These were to be current at the rate of £6 each, with halves corresponding. A new silver coinage was also ordered; and all the former coins were to be brought into the Mint at 55/ the ounce of eleven denier fine, and recoinced at 60/ the ounce of the same standard in merk, half-merk, forty-penny, and twenty-penny pieces. Nine half-merks were to be in the ounce, with the usual

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<sup>68</sup> Vol. ii. p. 257.

remedies of weight and fineness. This coinage was to be current after the 1st of January, and none other was to be allowed to have course. By the same act 200 stone weight of copper was ordered to be minted into two-penny pieces, at nine to the ounce. These were to have the same impression and circumscription as the former copper coinage; and no one was to refuse to take twelve pennies of this copper money in every twenty shillings of his debt.

On the 22nd of September the Privy Council<sup>69</sup> assigned the profits of the above coinage to the Master of Elphinstone and his son, till such time as they should receive a sum of £41,000 owing by the King to the Master of Elphinstone. This assignation was renounced in December, and on the same day a contract was entered into between the King (with consent of the Privy Council) and Sir David Murray, of Gosportie, and others, to let the Mint to them for one year. The tacksmen were to have liberty to buy gold and silver at whatever price they pleased, and might place the Mint where they liked. They were to pay £45,899 9s. 6d. of the usual money of Scotland as rent.

1602. On the 13th July, 1602, Alexander Reid,<sup>70</sup> cutler in Edinburgh, was tried for false coining. It appears that he was employed as a "printer" in the Mint, and had got some false blanks, which he stamped with the true dies of the merk piece. From Birrel's Diary<sup>71</sup> we learn that he was hanged for this offence on the 20th of the same month.

A proclamation of the Privy Council,<sup>72</sup> on 23rd December, prohibited any of the proclaimed money to have

<sup>69</sup> P. C. R., p. 672.

<sup>70</sup> Pitcairn's Crim. Trials, vol. ii. p. 399.

<sup>71</sup> P. 56.

<sup>72</sup> P. C. R., f. 122.

course, except the late coinages ordered by Parliament, and interdicted any one from exchanging it. An act of 16th January, 1603; is to the same effect.<sup>73</sup>

1603. On the 24th of March, James VI. succeeded to the throne of England, and the coinage of Scotland, as an independent kingdom, ceased.

The following table will give an idea of the coinages of this reign, before James's accession to the English throne.

TABLE OF THE GOLD COINS OF JAMES VI.

(Before Accession).

	Date.	Coin.	Reference.	Autho- rised Weight in Troy grains.	Value at time of Issue.	Stan- dard of Fine- ness at time of Issue.	
1	1575 1576	Twenty pound piece.	Wingate, Pl. 34, fig. 4.	472½	£ s. d. 20 0 0	22½	{ The recently dis- covered Hope- town MS. gives the fineness.
2		Scottish crown.	Never coined.	47½	2 0 0	21 cts.	{ This coinage was authorised by Act of Parlia- ment, but was cancelled by Act of Privy Council.
3	1580	Scottish ducat or barehead- ed noble.	Wingate, Pl. 34, fig. 5.	94½	4 0 0	21 cts.	{ An Act of Privy Council in April, 1580, au- thorised this coinage, and an Act of Parlia- ment (III. 191) raised the value four shillings.
4	1584 1586 1587 1588	Lion noble and two- thirds (called the Lion crown)—: and on one- third of the same.	Wingate, Pl. 34, fig. 6. Lindsay, Pl. 15, figs. 59, 60.	78¾ 52¾ 26½	3 15 0 2 10 0 1 5 0	21½ c. " "	{ The one-third Lion noble is not mentioned except in the Act of Privy Council.

<sup>73</sup> P. C. R., f. 779.

	Date.	Coin.	Reference.	Authorised Weight in Troy grains.	Value at time of Issue.	Standard of Finess at time of Issue.	
5	1589 to 1596	Thistle nobles and half.	Wingate, Pl. 34, figs. 1, 2, 3.	118 69	£ s. d. 7 6 8 3 13 4	23 cts. 7 grs.	The half is not known to exist, nor is there any mention of it in the Mint Register.
6	1591 1592 1593	Hat piece (or four pound piece) with half.	Wingate, Pl. 34, figs. 8, 9, 10.		4 0 0 2 0 0	22 cts. fine. "	The half, though authorised, is not known: though from the Mint Registers it would appear to have been struck.
7	1593-4-8-9-1601	Riders with halves of the same.	Wingate, Pl. 34, figs. 11, 12; Pl. 35, 1, 2.	78 $\frac{1}{2}$ 39 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 0 0 2 10 0	22 cts. "	{ Act of Privy Council.
8	1601-2-3-4	Sword and Sceptre pieces with their halves.	Wingate, Pl. 35, figs. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.	78 $\frac{1}{2}$ 39	6 0 0 3 0 0	22 cts. "	{ Act of Parliament at Perth. The Mint Registers have been preserved, and show coinages in 1604.

TABLE OF THE SILVER COINS OF JAMES VI.  
(Before Accession).<sup>2</sup>

	Date.	Coin.	Reference.	Authorised Weight in Troy grains.	Value at time of Issue.	Standard of Finess at time of Issue.	
1	1567 to 1571 " " 1568 to 1571	James Ryall or Sword dollar. Two-thirds. Do. One - third do.	Wingate, Pl. 32, 33.	grs. 472 $\frac{1}{2}$ 315 157 $\frac{1}{2}$	s. d. 30 0 20 0 10 0	den. 11 " "	The Act of Privy Council authorising this coinage is given both by Cardonnel and Lindsay.
2	1572-3-4-5-7-80	Half-merk or noble.	Wingate, Pl. 35, figs. 8, 9, 10, 11.	—	6 8	6* 8	This coinage was at first very base but afterwards raised.

	Date.	Coin.	Reference.	Autho- rised Weight in Troy grains.	Value at time of Issue.	Stan- dard of Fine- ness at time of Issue.	
	1572	Halfnoble or fortypenny piece.	Wingate, Pl. 35, figs. 8, 9, 10, 11.	—	s. d. 3 4	den. 6	
3	1578-9 1579- 80	Two-merk piece or Thistle dollar. Merk piece.	Wingate, Pl. 35, figs. 12, 13. Numis. Chron., vol. 12, Pl. 11.	344½ 172	26 8 13 4	11 ,,	
4	1581	Sixteen shil- ling pieces with half, quarter & eighth parts of the same.	Wingate, Pl. 35, fig. 14. Lindsay, Pl. 10, fig. 206*, 207, 207*, 208.	— — — —	16 0 8 0 4 0 2 0	11	This coinage has usually been confounded with the pre- ceding; but it is now known to be quite dis- tinct.
5	1582- 3-4 & up. to 10th May, 1586	Forty shil- ling pieces with three- fourths, half and quarter of the same.	Lindsay, Pl. 10, fig. 209. Wingate, Pl. 36.	472½ 354½ 236½ 118½	40 0 30 0 20 0 10 0	11	There are fre- quent coinages of xl/ pieces mentioned in the Mint Re- gisters.
6	1591- 2-3 1591- 2	Balance half merk. Half do. or forty pen- ny piece.	Wingate, Pl. 37, fig. 1, 2, 3.	— —	6 8 3 4	10½ ,,	By a singular mistake this is often called the balance "merk," while it is in re- ality a half-merk.
7	1593- 4-5-6- 8-9	Ten shilling pieces with five shil- ling, thirty pence and twelve pen- ny pieces.	Wingate, Pl. 37, figs. 5 to 10.	94½ 47½ 23 —	10 0 5 0 2 6 1 0	11 " " "	
8	1601- 2-3-4	Thistlemerk with half- merk, forty penny and twenty penny pieces.	Wingate, Pl. 37, figs. 11, 12; Pl. 38, figs. 1 to 6.	104 52 26 13	13 4 6 8 3 4 1 8	11 " " "	Act of Parlia- ment, vol. iv. p. 257 and Act of Privy Coun- cil dated Dec., 1601. The Mint Registers of this coinage are still pre- served; the coinage con- tinued till Au- gust, 1604.



## TABLE OF THE BILLON AND COPPER COINS OF JAMES VI.

*(Before Accession).*

	Date of Issue.	Coins.	Reference.	Weight in Grains.	Value at time of Issue.	Standard of Purity.	
1	1583	Plack. Half plack.	Wingate, Pl. 38, figs. 7, 8, 9, 10.	28 14	d. 8 4	3 den. "	
2	1588 1589	Hard head. Half hard head.	Lindsay, Pl. 17, figs. 50, 48, 49.	22 11	2 1	12 gr. "	{The second coin- age of these wanted the shield.
3	1593	Fourpenny piece.	Lindsay, Pl. 17, fig. 52.	23½	4	1 den.	
4	1597	Twopenny piece. Pennypiece.	Lindsay, Pl. 17, fig. 53, 54.	59 29	2 1	cop- per.	

R. W. COCHRAN PATRICK.

## NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

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The *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Vol. I., part 1, contains the following articles :—

1. E. Curtius. "On Greek Colonial coins."
2. A. von Sallet. "On the coins of the Tauric Chersonese."
3. A. von Rauch. "On the metal value of Greek coins."
4. J. Brandis. "Symbols upon Greek coins, the Arms of private families."
5. H. Dannenberg. "On the coins of the Emperors of the House of Hohenstaufen and their opponents, struck at Aix and Cologne."

In Vol. I., part 2, are the following articles :—

1. F. Imhoof-Blumer. "Contributions to the Numismatics and Geography of Greece and Asia Minor."
2. A. von Sallet. "Coins of Thrace and Macedon."
3. R. Weil. "Remarks on the Greek Federal Coinages—Thessaly, Histiaea—Oreos."
4. P. Lambros. "Inedited Mediæval coins of Athens and Naxos." "Inedited coins of the Grand Master Fulco de Villaret."

In the *Necrology* is a short notice of the life of Dr. Brandis.

In Vol. I., part 3, are the following articles :—

1. A. von Sallet. "Review of the first volume of the Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum."
2. R. Weil. "On a silver coin of Tiryns."
3. Eugen Merzbacher. "On the coins of the Revolts of the Jews under Nero and Hadrian."
4. Th. Mommsen. "On the Imperial Title of Pontifex Maximus."
5. J. Friedlaender. "On the coins of the Princes of East Friesland."
6. Franz Reber. "On some Denars of Regensburg, from recent Finds."
7. H. Dannenberg. "On the Numismatics of East Friesland."
8. A. von Sallet. "On 'speaking' coins with the Legends, Φαεινρ εμι σημα, Σεγεστα Ζυβ εμι, Ταραντινων ημι, &c."

In the *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, 5me Série, Tome V., 4me livraison, are the following articles :—

1. P. Mailliet. "Catalogue of obsidional coins and *Pièces de Nécessité*." Second Supplement.
2. A. le Catte. "Seal of the Church of Dinant."
3. W. J. de Voogt. "On a Find of coins of the end of the Fourteenth Century."
4. F. Rabut. "On some Jetons of Savoy."

In *Tome VI.*, 1re livraison, are the following articles :—

1. A. Brichaut. "Numismatic History of Brielle. 1572—1872." Second article.
2. J. Dirks. "Two hundred and thirty *Méreaux* of the Trades Corporations of the Low Countries."
3. M. de Schodt. "Charity Tokens, Ecclesiastical and Religious, of the City of Bruges." Second article.
4. Le Viscomte de Jonghe. "On some rare and inedited coins of Brabant, &c."

In *Tome VI.*, 2me livraison, are the following articles :—

1. J. Chautard. "Seals of the ancient Medical Institutions of Lorraine."
2. Hooft van Iddekinge. "On the as yet undiscovered gold Noble of Gisbert de Bréderode, Bishop of Utrecht."
3. J. Dirks. "Supplement to the *Méreaux* of the Trades Corporations of the Low Countries."
4. M. Kluyskens. "On the medals of Linnæus."
5. M. Schuermans. "On a Find of Alexandrian coins in Belgium."
6. Le Comte Maurin Nahuys. "On a bone Seal of the Twelfth or Thirteenth Century."

Roman Imperial Photographs. Arranged by J. E. Lee, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S. London, 1874.

This volume consists of a selection of forty photographs, enlarged from Roman coins ranging from the time of Julius Cæsar to that of Constantine the Great. The photographs are apparently taken from the coins themselves, and not from casts. They are necessarily coarse, owing to the immense enlargement to which the coins have been subjected. In many cases also the best procurable specimens do not seem to have been photographed. Had Mr. Lee put himself in communication with the Department of Coins in the British Museum, we imagine that he might have obtained casts of specimens in the highest state of preservation, photographs from which would have been of far greater interest and iconographical value, as

well as more beautiful, than those which have unfortunately been selected. We also object on principle, as numismatists, to the enlargement of coins; for which, however, there is an excuse in the present instance, as the photographs were taken with the view of lessening the labour of drawing in lithography a series of Roman imperial portraits which, we understand, is to be published shortly.

The third volume of the Duc de Blacas' translation of Mommsen's "History of the Roman Coinage" has made its appearance. It contains the third and fourth divisions of the original work—viz., the coins of the Empire, its colonies, and allies. The work of the translator has been revised throughout by M. le Baron de Witte. The chronological table at the end of the volume will be found invaluable to the student. It gives at one *coup d'œil* a complete view of the development of the art of coinage in Italy, together with the dates of the several reductions of the As. On this obscure subject Mommsen is at variance with the Baron D'Ailly and the Count de Salis, on whose plan the coins in the British Museum are arranged. The following is an outline of the two systems, which, it will be seen, differ considerably:—

MOMMSEN.	B.C.	D'AILLY.
Libral (10 ozs.) . .	451 . .	Libral (12 ozs.)
— . .	380 . .	Semilibral (6 ozs.)
— . .	278 . .	Quadrantal (3 ozs.)
Triental (4 ozs.) . .	268 . .	Sextantal (2 ozs.)
Uncial (1 oz.) . .	217 . .	Uncial (1 oz.)
Semiuncial ( $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.) .	88 . .	Semiuncial ( $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.)

In theory the arrangement of the Baron D'Ailly appears at first sight to be the more symmetrical, though whether or not it is supported by adequate proofs we are not in a position to decide.

To the English Numismatist, no less than to the French, the Duc de Blacas' translation will be a real boon. The terseness and lucidity of the French language and style renders it easy to seize the author's meaning in passages where the difficulty of the subject-matter, combined with the natural obscurity of the German tongue, had made Mommsen's great work a sealed book to the majority of our countrymen who interest themselves in such matters. The fourth and concluding volume, now in the press, will contain a series of forty plates, chosen by the late Duc de Blacas himself to illustrate the text of his work.

Numismatique de la Terre Sainte. Par F. de Saulcy, Membre de l'Institut. Paris. J. Rothschild.

Courage and enterprise are virtues even in literature, and no one surely can possess them in a higher degree than the gallant author of this work, who was, forty years ago, a distinguished Numismatist, has never flagged in his antiquarian enterprises, and even now promises us a future work to complete his account of the coinages of Palestine, "cette terre illustre entre toutes." The present handsome volume treats of all the civic coinages issued in Palestine and the regions round, together with those of the procurators of Judæa. It is not easy to see why M. de Saulcy inserts the coins of the procurators—he had already published a catalogue of them, together with those of the kings, in his work of 1854—unless, perhaps, he desired to make the list fuller, and to alter his system of rendering the dates, which, convinced by criticism, he abandons. The coins of Judæa always attract English students; but, unfortunately, there is very little striking or national about any of them, except the small and generally ill-preserved regal coins. Hence it is rather to the systematic Numismatist than to the general student that M. de Saulcy's last work will be valuable. It is very complete, and will fill the same honourable position with regard to the coins of the cities of the Holy Land which is occupied in regard to those of Spain by the work of M. Heiss, or those of Africa by the treatise of M. Müller. To the studious Numismatist it is a great gain to have a district thus fenced off and mapped out for him, and to be saved from toiling through the incomplete and unsatisfactory catalogues of Mionnet. It is not merely book-learning and long study that have put M. de Saulcy in the position of *κρίτορας* of the Numismatics of Palestine, but many a toilsome journey through the deserts of Syria, and long researches carried out under a blazing sun. It would be hard to overrate his merits as a pioneer; and even in cases where his theories admit of improvement, he has frequently supplied all the materials for that improvement. In the present work there is one oversight much to be regretted, and we point it out in the hope that a remedy may be found. We can find absolutely no means of referring from the descriptions of coins in the text to the representations of them in the plates which accompany the work, nor is there an index of any kind whatever to the plates themselves. It is to be feared that this defect will detract from the usefulness of a work in other respects excellent and carefully prepared. We have space but to notice one more feature—a series of nearly forty autonomous coins of Palmyra, a city of the greatest interest, and hitherto almost unrepresented in our cabinets.

## MISCELLANEA.

NOTES ON SNELLING'S SEVENTY-TWO PLATES OF COINS, PUBLISHED 1757.—There exists a pamphlet, which is probably well known to most collectors, entitled "Seventy-two Plates of Gold and Silver Coin, mostly English, some never before published; together with their Weight, Fineness and Value, supposed to be Engrav'd about y<sup>e</sup> Year 1650. London, printed for and sold by T. Snelling, Bookseller, near the Horn Tavern, Fleet Street, 1757. Price 2s. 6d."

This pamphlet is entirely printed from copper-plates on thirteen leaves of plate paper in quarto.

Now, as Snelling says on the title-page that these copper-plates were "supposed to be engraved about the year 1650," it is evident that he did not know the actual history of them. This I am enabled to supply from an old and scarce work in my possession, Thomas Violet's "Proposals to his Highness Oliver, Lord Protector, &c., folio, London, 1656," in which Violet writes as follows, pp. 106, 107:—

"And at the desire of Sir James Harrington and Mr. Thomas Challoner, and others of the Honorable Committee for the Mint, I did write to Holland for all the principal Coynes in Christendom, and did deliver many of them to the officers of the Mint to make an assay of them, which several pieces of forrain gold and silver were assayed in the Presence of the Committee of the Mint, they being there at the Tower several dayes to make these Trials, where I attended them, and I sent into Holland, France and Flanders for all their several Placarts, and did procure the Lawes and Ordinances for regulating their respective mints, with the several standards and weights for their Coyns, gold or silver, to be translated, and thereupon the Committee of the Mint caused the principall of these forrain Coynes to bee ingraven with their weight and fineness of every piece, according to the standard of each mint, both gold and silver, what it ought to weigh, with a just Calculation of the value what all the several Species would make in the Tower of London, and the penny weight, and graines that everie such forrain Specie or Coyn would make in the Tower of London, and what proportion our gold and silver held with the mints of Flanders, France, and Holland: and this was exactly calculated by the officers of the Mint and my self, in the years 1651 and 1652, and all the proceedings thereupon. After many moneths

time, and the several Coynes, graven in Copper Plates, were delivered into the custody of Sir James Harrington, the chairman of that committee, to report them unto the House, but the Parliament being dissolved 20 April, 1653, the Act against the Transporters of Gold and all the Proceedings concerning the regulation of the mint was stopped for that time."

There seems no doubt, therefore, that the plates published by Snelling were those engraved for the Committee of the Mint in 1652, but not then made use of or printed from, in consequence of the dissolution of Parliament by Cromwell soon afterwards.

HENRY W. HENFREY.

21st May, 1874.

NEW INTERNATIONAL EDITION OF MARSDEN'S "NUMISMATA ORIENTALIA."—We are glad to observe that Messrs. Trübner and Co. announce a new edition of this important work, of the illustrative copper-plates of which they have lately become the proprietors. Other illustrations, bringing down our knowledge of the Oriental coinages to the present time, will, however, be added, either in the shape of wood-cuts or of plates. The work is to appear in parts, and will be under the general editorship of Mr. Edward Thomas, who has so often contributed to our pages. The separate portions relating to the various Asiatic countries and dynasties will be edited by numismatists best versed in the respective subjects, among whom may be mentioned Sir Walter Elliot, Sir Arthur Phayre, General Cunningham, Mr. E. T. Rogers, Mr. Stanley L. Poole, Dr. Blochmann, M. de Saulcy, M. Sauvaire, Prof. Gregorief, and Don Paschal de Gayangos.

It is to be hoped that the intention of thus forming a complete encyclopædia of Oriental numismatics may be effectually carried out.

# IX.

## A COIN OF HERAÛS, SAKA KING.



*Obv.*—Bust of a king, r., diademed and draped; border of  
reels and beads.

*Rev.*—TY'ANNΩYNTΩΣ Η'ΑΩY  
ΣΑΚΑ  
ΚΟΛΛΑΝΩY

(Τυραννώντης Ἡράου Σάκα κολλάνου). A king, r.,  
on horseback; behind, Nike, crowning him.

I HASTEN to lay before the readers of the Numismatic Chronicle a short account of a most remarkable coin lately acquired by the British Museum, and of peculiar interest to many classes of readers. A single glance at the woodcut which heads this paper will assuredly arouse the interest of all who have studied the coins of Bactria, and perhaps secure their attention to a few remarks which I wish to make, first as to the date of the coin, and secondly as to its more striking peculiarities.

Heraüs or Eraüs, King of the Sakas, is a personage



unknown to history. In order to fix his date, we must recapitulate the few facts of Saka history which have come down to us. Herodotus<sup>1</sup> states that the name of Sakas was applied by the Persians to all Scythians, and that there were Sakas in Xerxes' army bearing Scythian weapons, and ranged with the Bactrians. Wilson<sup>2</sup> states, on the authority of Remusat, that according to the Chinese writers, in the second century before our era, "the Yuchi, Yu-ti, or Getae (Massagetae) being driven to the west by the advance of the Hi-ung-nu, formed a union with the Ta-hi-a (Daae); and the combined tribes forced the Sakas before them to the south, in consequence of which their tribes again pressed into Bactria, and finally overturned the kingdom which the Greeks had founded there." It was about the middle of the second century when the Greeks of Bactria and the Parthians, who had exhausted themselves and each other with continued wars, found themselves threatened by the common danger. The advancing Saka hordes at first carried all before them. Two kings of Parthia, Phrahates in B.C. 128, and Artabanus in B.C. 125, fell in battle against them, while the feebler Greek kings rapidly retired into India. But the Scythians experienced a momentary check when Mithradates II. of Parthia, and Menander of Bactria, both powerful and warlike monarchs, were reigning contemporaneously. About the year B.C. 90 they again pressed forward, and at the end of the reign of Hermaeus established themselves in the neighbourhood of Cabul, whence, towards the beginning of the Christian era, they spread towards the mouth of the Indus. Their progress

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<sup>1</sup> VII. 64.

<sup>2</sup> "Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan," p. 141.

southwards is said to have been arrested in B.C. 56 by Vikramaditya, King of Avanti, or Ujayin. And subsequently they in turn were pressed, or even subjugated by bands of the Yu-chi, who followed by the same route, through Bactria proper into the Panjáb. It appears, however that, several centuries later, there were still Sakas on the northern borders of Bactria. Hence we must suppose that the term Sakas was, as Herodotus asserts, generic, and included several cognate tribes, some of which passed southwards into India, while others either remained in the original seats of the nation or migrated westwards. And the opinion that the Sakas were a confederacy and not a tribe is still further confirmed by Strabo,<sup>3</sup> who, in the same passage in which he declares the Sakas to have overthrown the Bactrian Empire, also states the conquerors to have consisted of the four tribes of Asii, Pasiani, Tokhari, and Sakarauli. These four tribes may, at the time this piece of money was struck, have been united under Heraüs, and acknowledged his supremacy.

That the coin was struck in Bactria rather than in India appears likely for many reasons. First, Greek only is used in the inscriptions, and not the Arian characters, as is usually the case with coins minted in India. We know that Hermaeus, the last Greek king who reigned south of the great mountain chain was succeeded, or rather superseded, by a Scythian called Kadaphes, or Kadphises, for the names of Hermaeus and of Kadphises are found together on the same pieces. But all the money of Kadphises bears Indian types and Arian inscriptions. Nor is it by any means

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<sup>3</sup> XI., 8. 2.

likely that his Scythian successors would return to a more Parthian or Hellenic type. Indeed, we know from their extant money that it became more and more Indian. But further, we have trustworthy contemporary evidence that the Saka kings did strike money such as this. The Chinese writers assert that at about this period the kings of Ki-pin struck money in gold and silver, bearing on one side the effigy of a man, on the other a horseman. It has indeed been disputed as to what district is meant by Ki-pin, but it is certain that it was a tract of country not far from Cabul, and that it was at this period ruled by Saka kings. We have even the names of some of these; Utolao, for example, is said to have reigned about B.C. 87, and Inmoffu about B.C. 30, soon after which date the Yu-chi invaded and conquered the country.<sup>4</sup> Of this Saka coinage of Ki-pin I believe the present coin to be the first certain published example.

But if its district of mintage is settled, its date also is approximately fixed. For we know that the Sakas did not gain any sure foothold in Bactria until the year 128, when they defeated and slew Phraohates of Parthia. It is very unlikely that they would strike silver coins while yet in the wilds of Sogdiana, and before they had settled and civilised subjects. This, then, must be considered the earliest date possible. And the latest possible is the middle of the first century B.C.; for the Yuchi had already by the year 80 obtained a footing in Bactria, and in the year 30 pressed on even to the conquest of India. We may therefore with confidence assign this coin to the end of the second or the beginning of the first century before the Christian era.

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<sup>4</sup> Lassen, "Points in the History, &c.," trans. Roeer, p. 166.

When we approach the coin, we find everything about it unusual and remarkable. First as to the types. The head on the obverse represents a Tartar, of a most ferocious and brutal type, with the ferocity and brutality distinctly exaggerated by a die-sinker who evidently thought them noble qualities. The only other heads of the same kind yet published are found on some small silver pieces with semi-barbarous Greek inscriptions, and on the large copper coins ascribed by Wilson to the Sakas, and bearing on one side the head of a king, and on the other a blundered inscription and a horse. This attribution of Wilson is strongly confirmed by the discovery of our coin. The border of the obverse is copied from that of the widely-circulated coins of Eukratides. The reverse type is very peculiar, and seems to be original, for although it reminds us of the Parthian coinage, yet no Parthian king is represented on horseback until some time after the Christian era. We must rather seek the prototype of the horseman on this coin among the coins of Philoxenes and Hippostratus, while for the figure of Nike we may compare the almost contemporary coinage of Orodes I. But I find no contemporary instance of the combination of the horseman and Nike, except on gems which are found in Cabul, and probably are also Saka monuments.

Next as to the legends. The characters in which these are written are most remarkable, and unlike any hitherto known. The Greek P is in every case represented by Ϻ, and O by □. Each word claims a separate notice—*τυραννοῦντος* is probably a copy of the well-known *βασιλεύοντος* on the remarkable tetradrachms of Agathokles, and the verb may have been changed in order to express, according to the barbarous notions of the

Bactrians, a more complete sovereignty. Ἡράου. Thus the word appears, on a diligent consideration, to run. I was at first disposed to read it Μάου, and to attribute the coin to Mayes; but the P in its debased form is quite clear, nor is there the slightest similarity between this coin and those of King Mayes. Not being skilled in the Turanian<sup>5</sup> languages, I must leave to those who are the determination what Scythic name is hidden under this Greek form. Σάκα. In this word we have just the missing link of proof to show that the late and barbarous coinage of Bactria was really Saka. I have been informed that in the hands of Gen. Cunningham, and others, are silver coins somewhat similar to the present one, bearing various incomplete and unsatisfactory legends, one of them with the portrait of a queen. These had already been attributed, together with the coins in copper mentioned above, to Saka chiefs; but here we have an inscription, which may fairly set all doubt at rest. Another interesting fact established at the same time, is that the Scythian tribes themselves called their confederacy Saka; it might otherwise have been concluded from the language of Herodotus that the term was merely one applied by the Persians to all the tribes on their borders, and not recognised by the latter. Lastly, the Greek word κοιράνου, is a remarkable term to apply to a Tartar Khan. It never, I need scarcely say, occurs on true Greek coins. Familiar to the readers of Homer and the Tragedians, it is seldom or never met with in prose.

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<sup>5</sup> In thus using the terms Turanian and Scythic as synonymous, I by no means intend to ignore the theory of Humboldt, Rawlinson, and others, that the European Scythians were probably of Indo-European blood. Sir H. Rawlinson himself allows that in the *Eastern* Scythians, or Sacae, the Turanian element preponderated.

That it should thus reappear in the far East, and under barbarian conquerors, is all but amazing, and causes serious doubts whether after all a word not Greek but Scythic may be intended. But it is clear from the term *τυραννοδυντος* that the Saka kings rather avoided the usual titles of the kings of Syria and Egypt, and they seem to have somehow come to the conclusion that *κοίρανος* represented Khan. The same word occurs, in the blundered form *χορανο*, on the coins of Kadphises and others, and has occasioned much perplexity. Masson first asserted that it was a military title, without however explaining its derivation or origin. Prinsep, Wilson, and Lassen,<sup>4</sup> however, all declare that it is out of the question to identify *χορανο* with *κοίρανος*, and are rather in favour of an Indian or Scythic origin. Perhaps these able writers would scarcely have maintained their opinion in the face of the present coin. Here I may stop, contenting myself with bringing this remarkable monument before orientalists, and leaving to them the task of pursuing the lines of investigation which I have but indicated.

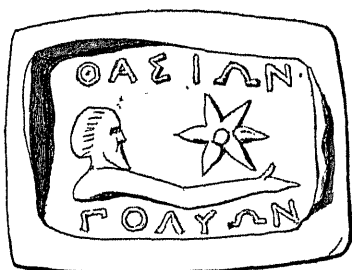
PERCY GARDNER.

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<sup>4</sup> Wilson, "Antiq. and Coins of Afghanistan," pp. 78, 358. Prinsep, "Indian Antiquities," ed. Thomas, p. 130; Lassen, "Points in the History, &c.," trans. Roer, p. 58.

## X.

### THASIAN MANUBRIA.



THE readers of the Numismatic Chronicle may be interested in the result of researches which, although not strictly numismatic, are yet so similar, that it has been judged that an account of them will not appear out of place in this journal. Attention was called in 1856 by Mr. Stoddart to the fact that in ancient times the amphoras used by Greek merchants for holding wine and oil, frequently bore upon one or both of the handles a stamp, circular or oblong, in which may be read the names of magistrates, together frequently with a type or emblem belonging to them or to their city. A long catalogue of these petty, but not uninteresting inscriptions was given by Mr. Stoddart,<sup>1</sup> and many papers have

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<sup>1</sup> Proceedings of the Royal Society of Literature. 2nd series, Vols. III. and IV.

since appeared in foreign archæological journals publishing new names and fresh types discovered on the handles of amphoras. The elaborate work of M. Dumont,<sup>2</sup> published in 1872, threw a great deal of light on the different classes of amphoras used in ancient commerce, on the meaning of the stamps impressed upon them, and the bearing of these discoveries upon the question of the directions and extent of commerce in ancient times. Having examined several thousands of amphora-stamps preserved in Athens and elsewhere, M. Dumont found himself able to assert that inscribed ceramic remains, on whatever shore discovered, are almost sure to belong to amphoras of one of three great classes.

(1). Thasian, capacious and clumsy, made of coarse red earth, and bearing on the handle the name of the island of Thasos, of a magistrate, and often a symbol or type belonging to him.

(2). Cnidian, of red earth, bearing on the handle one or two names, and sometimes a symbol and the name of Cnidus, together with, in a few cases, a title, such as *phrourarchos* or *astynomos*.

(3). Rhodian, of fine white earth, bearing the name of a magistrate, often with the title *hiereus* or priest of Helios, and either a Rhodian emblem, such as a rose or the head of Helios, or the name of one of the Dorian months, or both of these.

To these three classes must be added a class of amphoras made at cities on the shores of the Black Sea, and usually marked with an emblem and the title *astynomos* in addition to the magistrate's name. Besides, there are manubria apparently belonging to diotas from a few

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<sup>2</sup> "Inscriptions Céramiques."



other Greek cities, and many bearing the names of Roman magistrates in Roman characters, and found at Rome, but nevertheless supposed by some writers to come from the Roman colony of Corinth.<sup>3</sup>

In the British Museum there are, acquired from many sources, but for the most part either obtained through Mr. Stoddart or brought from Asia Minor by Mr. Newton, some thousands of these amphora-handles, nearly all with inscriptions. From a careful examination of these I am able to report that M. Dumont's opinions as to the classes of vases used in ancient commerce are sound and trustworthy. Among all these specimens I have been unable to find one which can be with certainty attributed to any other place than Rhodes, Cnidus, Thasos, the Euxine, and Rome, with perhaps two or three exceptions. Why these cities should have enjoyed a monopoly in the manufacture of diotas, or at least why they alone should have chosen to stamp their productions with the name of a magistrate, is a problem yet to be determined, and the determination of it must needs throw a great deal of light on the course of Greek commerce.

It appeared to me a most desirable thing, in examining these manubria, to put on record such as had been hitherto unpublished, and so contribute something towards that complete survey of all the remains of antiquity which must be the foundation of every sound archæological theory. I found, however, that the Roman manubria, and those from the shores of the Black Sea, had been almost all published in previous works. And as to those of Cnidus, the list of M. Dumont under this head

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<sup>3</sup> Stoddart, *loc. cit.* This author, however, relies too much on the casual coincidence of the word **CANINI** with the name of one of the decemvirs of Roman Corinth.

is so long, that I am inclined to believe that it includes almost all the specimens in the British Museum. The Thasian and Rhodian manubria remain. In these two classes the Museum is very rich, and I hope to add many to the known varieties of amphora-stamps coming from those places. In the present article I confine myself to giving a list of the varieties of the amphora-stamps coming from the island of Thasos; Rhodes I reserve for a future number of the Chronicle. I give those which are published, as well as the unpublished, to make the list complete.

Inscription.	Type.	Magistrate.	No. in Dumont, &c.
1. . . . . : } ΑΙΟΧΡΙΩΝ . }	Cup (?) . . . .	Aischrion .	Cf. Dum. 1
2. ΘΑΙΩΝ . : } ΑΜΦΑΝΔΡΟC . }	Horse galloping, r.	Amphandros	Cf. Dum. 3
3. ΘΑΣΙΩΝ . : } ΑΡΙΣΤΑΣ . : }	Amphora . . . .	Aristas . . .	Unpubl.
4. . . ΤΟΚΡΑΤΕΥC . (retrogr.) } . . CΙΩΝ (retrogr.) }	Kantharos . . .	Autokrates . .	„
5. . ΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΕΥC (retrogr.) }	Kantharos . . .	Autokrates . .	„
6. ΕΡΑΤΩΝ . . : } W        } Rudder . . . . ΘΑΣΙΩΝ . : } Eraton . . . .			„
7. ΘΑΣΙΩΝ . : } ΘΕΣΠΩΝ . : }	Oinochoë . . . .	Thespon . . .	„
8. . ΑΣΙΩΝ . . : } X        } . . . . . Kleitos . . .			„
ΚΛΕΙΤΟC . . : }			

Inscription.	Type.	Magistrato.	No. in Dumont, &c.
9. ΘΑΣΙΩΝ ΛΑΒΡΟΣ <sup>4</sup> . . }	Obscure . . .	Labros . .	Unpubl.
10. ΘΑΣΙ— . . ΝΕΟΜΑ— . . }	Caduceus . . .	Neomachos ?	„
11. ΝΙΚΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΘΑΣΙ . Ν . }	Amphora . . .	Nikagoras	Cf. Dum. 31
12. ΘΑΣΙΩΝ . . ΝΥΜΦΙΟΣ . . }	{Bukranium, fil- lotted, and sur- mounted by sign Υ	Nymphios .	Unpubl.
13. ΠΟΛΥΣΙΩΝ ΘΑΣΙΩΝ . . }	{Crescent, horns upwards	Polysion . .	„
14. ΘΑΣΙΩΝ . . ΠΟΛΥΩΝ . . }	{Bearded male head, r., with extended hand; in front, star of six rays . . .}	Polyon . .	Unpubl.
15. ΘΑΣΙΩΝ . . ΠΠ ΠΥΘΙΩΝ . . }	. . . . .	Pythion .	Cf. Dum. 36
16. . ΡΟΦΩΝ (in- verted) } ΘΑΣΙΩΝ . . }	Sea-horse, r. . .	Rophon . .	Unpubl.
17. . . . . CΙΩΝ . . ..... ΝΔΡΟC . . }	Tripod-lebes . .		
18. . . . . CΙΩΝ . . .. CΙΑΝΑΞ . . }	Ladle . . . .		
19. ΘΑΣΙΩΝ . . ... ΑΔΗC . . }	{Lyre and two ivy- leaves . . . }		
20. . . . . Ν . . ΘΑΣΙΩΝ . . }			

<sup>4</sup> Read as ΛΑΚΡΟΣ by Mr. Stoddart. Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit., iv. 65.

Of the above names, \**Ἀμφανδρος*, *Θέσπων*, *Λάβρος*, *Νεόμα[χος]*, *Πολυσίων*, and *Ροφῶν*<sup>5</sup> are unknown to Pape.<sup>6</sup> *Thespon*, *Labros*, and *Rophon* are quite characteristic; the second is especially interesting. *Labros* is mentioned in *Ovid*<sup>7</sup> as a dog's name "Glutton;" this is the first instance of its occurring as a man's name.

Simple and straightforward as these inscriptions are, they raise some curious points for discussion. That **ΘΑΣΙΩΝ** should occur in all of them is not to be wondered at; the people of Thasos were naturally anxious that all their productions should be known as theirs. But the proper name and the type are less easy to explain. First with regard to the name. We may at once put aside any notion that it may be that of either the master-potter who made the amphora or the wine-grower who filled it. There are good reasons which make these hypotheses untenable. It is found that in the case of Rhodian, Cnidian, and other handles, there is very often appended to the name a title, such as *hiercus* or *phourarchos*, and the same name occurs frequently with and without such a title. The title *kerameus* or potter, on the other hand, occurs but once or twice on handles from the Euxine Sea, and always accompanied by a magistrate's name. And further, no satisfactory reason can be given *why* the potter should thus mark his productions, but very good reasons why a magistrate should seal them. The only supposition remaining is that in every case it is a

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<sup>5</sup> Perhaps **ΗΡΟΦΩΝ**, as there seems to be space for another letter, and the name *Herophon* does occur in Thasian inscriptions.

<sup>6</sup> "Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen," 3rd edit., 1863-70.

<sup>7</sup> *Metamorph.* III. 224.

magistrate's name which appears in the Thasian inscriptions, and it only remains to inquire what was guaranteed by this official seal. The fact that Rhodian amphoras are stamped with the name of the month, as well as that of the *hierous*, is remarkable, and might at first sight incline one to think that the stamps were intended to mark an exact date, and so testify to the age of the wine enclosed. But there are strong reasons for rejecting this theory. Firstly, the name of every month occurs on various manubria; but it is clear that the wine would usually be placed in the amphoras only at the time of vintage, and so always date from one or two months. Secondly, the stamp must have been impressed upon the clay while it was soft and unbaked, but in that state it must of course have been empty of wine, and it is very improbable that the potter can have known at what time it would be filled. To mark the exact date of the fabrication of an amphora seems a curious custom, but it is one which certainly existed at Rhodes, and it may be explained if we suppose that it was not the date only but also the capacity of the amphora which was thus warranted. It is probable that in all these cities magistrates were appointed, called *agoranomi*, to inspect all amphoras manufactured in the potteries, and to depute officers who should gauge them, and on finding the measure exact, mark them with an official seal.<sup>8</sup> Such a system of inspection certainly existed in the case of weights and of coins; for instance, the later coinage of Athens may be taken, every piece of which bears as a guarantee of weight and metal the names of three different magistrates. Also it is by no means rare to find on ancient weights the name of an *agoranomos* with his title.

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<sup>8</sup> Birch, "History of Ancient Pottery," p. 187. Ed. 1873.

In the case of the Cnidian handles, and some Thasian ones published by Stephani, two names appear; and it has been ingeniously conjectured by Dr. Brandis<sup>9</sup> that the former of these represents the eponymous magistrate of the year, thus marking the date, while the second belongs to the official who was immediately responsible for the legal measure of the amphoras, namely, the *agoranomos*. It may, perhaps, be doubted whether the one name in the present Thasian inscriptions is that of the eponymous or the subordinate officer, but probability points rather to the former.

Mr. Stoddart has discussed at length the question of the probable date of these manubria. He arrives at the trustworthy conclusion that all are less ancient than the date of the foundation of Alexandria, B.C. 332, and probably than the peace which closed the first Macedonian war in 196. The latest may be about contemporary with the Antonines. As there are copper coins of Thasos which may be reasonably attributed to this period, and which exhibit monograms probably representing the names of magistrates, I had hoped to discover, in some cases, the same name on both coins and amphoras. But after examining all the coins of Thasos to which I had access, I found myself disappointed in this expectation.

One point remains, the type. All analogy indicates that this is copied from the private or family seal of the magistrate whose name appears. Although writers have tried hard to trace, on the coins of Athens, a real connection between the magistrates' names and the accessory types in the field, they have been unsuccessful. And although, in the case of the coins of Abdera there does seem to be, in some cases, in the type, a half-punning

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<sup>9</sup> "Zeitschr. für Numismatik," Vol. I. p. 47.

allusion to the accompanying name,<sup>10</sup> yet this is by no means always the case. It is safest to say that, as far as present evidence goes, no reason can be found for the adoption of particular types by various magistrates.<sup>11</sup> In the case of these Thasian vase-inscriptions in particular, there is no trace of any such reason to be observed. Here, almost all the types are Dionysiac. Noteworthy among those which do not certainly belong to this class are the galloping horse and crescent, frequent types in Thrace, the sea-monster, and especially the very curious type of No. 14. This seems to represent a male figure, holding out at arm's length a star, and is hard of explanation. I have had it figured at the head of this paper.

PERCY GARDNER.

P.S.—Since I wrote the above, my attention has been called to a piece of positive evidence which proves that we must modify Mr. Stoddart's opinion as to the date of the Thasian handles. In the tumulus of the barbarous king discovered by M. Dubrux at Koul-Oba, there was a Thasian amphora, entire, inscribed **ΘΑΣΙ**  
**ΑΡΕΤΩΝ** in addition to various objects in gold and electrum, which from the excellence of their work, certainly cannot be assigned to a later period than that of Alexander. Some Thasian inscribed amphoras must, therefore, date from the middle of the fourth century B.C.

<sup>10</sup> Thus Molpagoras has for type a dancing-girl, and Python a tripod. On the coins also of Neapolis, Artemi —, the magistrate has an Artemis for emblem.

<sup>11</sup> Dr. Brandis, in the article already referred to, maintains the opinion that each tribe or family had an emblem corresponding to the modern coat of arms, and used by all its members during their magistracies. He produces a good deal of valuable evidence that this was the case. But how each family came by its emblem still remains to be explained.

## XI.

### EXPLICATION D'UN DIDRACHME INÉDIT DE LA VILLE D'ICHNAË (MACÉDOINE).

NOTICE SUIVIE D'ÉCLAIRCISSEMENTS RELATIFS À LA NUMIS-  
MATIQUE DES BOTTIÉENS.

Parmi les médailles, inédites ou peu connues, qui—en dehors du beau choix déjà fourni par le célèbre cabinet d'Ed. Wigan—sont récemment entrées dans les riches collections numismatiques du British Museum—grâce, il faut le dire, à l'active et intelligente initiative de Mr. R. Stuart Poole—la plus remarquable et la plus intéressante, à tous les points de vue, c'est sans contredit celle que je vais m'appliquer à décrire et sur laquelle—puisque aussi bien j'y ai été très-courtoisement invité—je voudrais appeler, pendant quelques instants, la sérieuse attention des lecteurs de cette Revue.

Mais, avant d'entamer le sujet, et tout en renouvelant à Mr. Poole mes plus chaleureux remerciements pour l'honneur qu'il m'a fait et pour le témoignage de confiance qu'il n'a pas craint de me donner en me cédant la priorité d'une publication qui lui revenait de plein droit, je ne puis m'empêcher d'exprimer le regret, que l'important travail dont il s'occupe, en le moment,<sup>1</sup> non moins,

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<sup>1</sup> Le travail auquel je fais allusion et qui doit former un assez grand nombre de volumes, a pour titre: "Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum." La première partie, con-

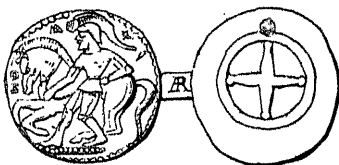


du reste, que les impérieux devoirs commandés par ses fonctions administratives, ne lui aient point permis, en cette circonstance, de tenir lui-même la plume, à mon lieu et place ; car, par la grande connaissance qu'il possède des textes anciens, par l'étude approfondie qu'il a faite des diverses branches de la science numismatique, j'ai l'intime persuasion que mon savant ami eût été, beaucoup mieux que je ne suis, en état d'interpréter les types, et de faire ressortir le mérite exceptionnel de ce curieux monument.

Quoiqu'il en soit, puisque j'ai consenti à accepter la tâche sans avoir, au préalable, suffisamment consulté mes forces, j'essayerai, *periculo meo*, de la remplir le moins mal que je pourrai.

Commençons d'abord par décrire la médaille ; l'explication viendra après.

### § I.



*Obv.*—Guerrier debout, à gauche, les jarrets pliés, et dans une attitude assez violente. Cette figure, exéc-

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tenant la description des monnaies de l'ancienne Italie, a paru il y a quelques mois seulement. Le second volume, qui contiendra la Numismatique Sicilienne, est sous presse. Qu'il me soit permis de dire, puisque j'en trouve ici l'occasion, que ce magnifique ouvrage, où les vignettes se succèdent presque à chaque page, ne fera pas moins d'honneur à son auteur et à ceux de ses collègues qui l'ont aidé, qu'à l'habile et savante commission administrative du British Museum, laquelle, dans son incessante sollicitude pour tout ce qui touche à la gloire de la Vieille Angleterre, n'a reculé devant aucun des nombreux et lourds sacrifices que nécessitait une pareille publication.

cutée dans le style archaïque, avec l'œil de face et une barbe cunéiforme, à la tête couverte d'un casque sans visière, mais qui paraît être légèrement dentelé à sa partie postérieure, et dont le sommet est orné d'une ample et longue crinière; le haut du corps, depuis le cou jusqu'à mi-cuisses, est revêtu d'une courte tunique sans manches (*χιτών*) serrée à la taille par une ceinture (*ζώνη*); de son bras droit, abaissé et tendu en avant, il retient par la bride un cheval qui se cabre et dont il semble s'efforcer de modérer l'élan; de son bras gauche, replié en arrière, il s'appuie du bout du coude sur la croupe de l'animal. Tout le groupe, tourné vers la gauche, repose sur une base ornée de globules; au dessus, et écrite circulairement de droite à gauche, on lit l'inscription: **ΥΟΑΥΧΙ** (*sic.*)

*Rev.*—Roue à quatre rayons et de forme très-simple figurée au milieu d'un carré creux peu profond. *Æ.*  
Module 6 de Mionnet; poids, 142 grs. anglais = 9.20 grs. français. British Museum.

Cette précieuse médaille, dont l'importance scientifique ne saurait échapper à personne, puisque, en fait, elle est la première et la seule de son espèce qu'on ait vue jusqu'à présent,<sup>2</sup> a été, il y a quelques mois seulement, cédée au British Museum par Mr. Paul Lambros, d'Athènes, et c'est certainement l'une des plus remarquables acquisitions qu'entre tant d'autres, ce riche établissement ait faites depuis longtemps.

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<sup>2</sup> Je veux dire tout simplement par là, que cette médaille est, jusqu'à ce jour, la seule de son espèce où l'on ait constaté la présence d'une légende et que cette légende nous fournit pour la première fois le moyen sûr de déterminer son pays d'origine. Car pour ce qui regarde le type, pris séparément, il est déjà connu et on le retrouve sur une variété *anépigraphie* publiée par M. de Prokesch-Osten dans la Revue Numismatique Française de l'année 1860 (p. 268, Pl. XII. No. 8). Cette dernière médaille, dont, par parenthèse, la description très-sommaire qui en est donnée ne répond nullement à la gravure, a été attribuée à *Therma*, sans doute parce que l'antiquaire viennois considère le signe *⊙* imprimé dans le champ du droit, comme un vrai

Sans être ce qu'on appelle entièrement irréprochable ou à fleur de coin, cette pièce offre néanmoins un état de conservation des plus satisfaisants : elle ne laisserait même presque rien à désirer sous ce rapport, n'était que son revers est un peu écrasé et frotté et qu'en outre elle a été percée d'un trou ; sorte de mutilation moderne malheureusement assez fréquente sur les monnaies antiques et qui provient de la fâcheuse habitude qu'ont les femmes de l'Orient d'en attacher, comme ornement, un certain nombre à leur parure. Quoique ce trou porte juste à l'endroit où est figuré le premier N de l'inscription, cependant il n'endommage nullement les types et n'empêche pas, non plus, de distinguer une partie des contours et de la forme primitive de la dite lettre.

De cette légende, écrite de droite à gauche en caractères archaïques très-clairs et on ne peut plus explicites, résulte péremptoirement la preuve que notre médaille a été frappée, vers une époque assez haute de l'histoire, par les habitants d'une ville qui avait nom, *Ichnae*.

Quelle est cette ville, et à quel pays faut-il la rattacher ?

C'est ce qu'il s'agit d'examiner et ce que, du même coup, nous allons essayer de déterminer.

Si nous interrogeons à ce sujet les géographes ou d'autres écrivains anciens, plusieurs de ces auteurs nous apprendront que, dans le monde grec, on ne comptait pas moins de *trois* localités différentes ayant, chacune, porté

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*thêta* indiquant la lettre initiale du nom de la ville. C'est là une question que je n'ai pas ici le loisir d'examiner, mais sur laquelle je me réserve de revenir. Si, au contraire de ce que suppose M. de Prokesch, on ne veut voir dans le signe qu'un pur symbole mythique ou religieux, et ne tenir compte absolument que de la parfaite similitude des types, dans ce cas il est clair que ce didrachme anépigraphe doit appartenir à la même ville d'où le nôtre est sorti.

le nom d'*Ichnae* : une, située dans la Basse Macédoine, non loin de *Pella* et près de l'embouchure du fleuve *Arius* ;<sup>3</sup> une autre que Strabon (ix., v. 4) place dans la Thessaliotide, quatrième grande division de la Thessalie, et de laquelle—s'il fallait s'en rapporter sur ce point aux suppositions très-gratuites de Raoul Rochette<sup>4</sup>—serait issue l'*Ichnae Macédonienne* ; opinion qui, soit dit en passant, n'est appuyée d'aucune preuve positive et que, pour mon compte, je ne saurais me décider à partager—j'aurai, du reste, à y revenir tout à l'heure.

Enfin il existait une troisième localité du nom d'*Ichnae* située, d'après Isidore de Charax, en *Mésopotamie* et près du fleuve *Bilécha*. Cet auteur, qui la qualifie de ville grecque, assure qu'elle avait été bâtie par des Macédoniens. *Ἰχναί, πόλις ἑλληνίς, Μακεδόνων κτίσμα· κείται δ' ἐπὶ Βίληχα ποταμοῦ* (Isid. Charac. in *Σταθμοῖς Παρθ.*, ii., 3). Étienne de Byzance et Dion Cassius la mentionnent également : le premier (*loc. cit.*) la place d'une manière vague dans l'Orient mais sans dire à quel endroit ; le second (lib. xl., p. 126) la nomme *Ichnias* et ne la considère que comme un simple château-fort (*φρούριον*). Ajoutons qu'il est encore question d'*Ichnae de Mésopotamie* dans Plutarque (Vit. Crass.) et dans Appien (Parthie).

Inutile de faire remarquer que cette ville orientale—bien, qu'en somme, elle soit d'origine grecque—n'ayant, par le fait seul de la situation éloignée et de l'époque relativement assez récente où elle a été fondée, absolument rien à voir ici, je ne l'ai mentionnée uniquement que pour mémoire et afin de ne rien omettre, autant que possible.

<sup>3</sup> Hérodote., vii. 123 ; Plin., lib. xvi. 10 ; Steph. Byz. Voc., *Ἰχνας* ; Hésych. Voc.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. des Colon. Gr., tom. iv. p. 227.

Reste donc à décider entre l'*Ichnae* de Macédoine et l'*Ichnae* de Thessalie.

En donnant notre médaille à la première plutôt qu'à la seconde de ces deux villes—ainsi que, dès à présent, je propose formellement de le faire—non seulement j'ai la conviction que bien loin de m'abuser je suis à cet égard complètement dans le vrai, mais encore j'aime à me persuader qu'une pareille attribution—lorsqu'on m'aura entendu—ne soulèvera, chez les numismatistes, aucune sérieuse opposition; à la vérité, la légende de cette médaille, telle qu'elle est constituée, n'offrant rien dans sa teneur de particulièrement significatif—comme serait, par exemple, une forme dialectique spéciale et bien caractérisée—pourrait à la rigueur, je n'en disconviens pas, parfaitement s'appliquer à l'une tout aussi bien qu'à l'autre de ces deux villes. C'est pourquoi, ne fût-ce que dans le but de dissiper toute espèce d'incertitude, autant qu'à l'effet de dégager immédiatement ce côté de la question, je crois devoir exposer, en peu de mots, les divers motifs qui ont guidé mon choix.

Ces motifs sont de trois sortes, ou, selon qu'on voudra, reposent sur trois ordres de considérations dont, chacune, ne laisse point, comme on le verra, d'avoir sa valeur relative.

Je me fonde d'abord et principalement sur la fabrique de la médaille, autrement dit sur son aspect général ou d'ensemble et, en particulier, sur ses types, sur son style, sur son poids; lesquels détails, en même temps qu'ils rappellent d'une manière frappante un très-rare didrachme des *Oreskii* publié, il y a peu de mois, par Mr. Barclay Head,<sup>5</sup> offrent manifestement à mes yeux tous les indices

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<sup>5</sup> The Greek Autonomous Coins, from the Cab. of the late Mr. Ed. Wigan, Part I. Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xiii. p. 105,

matériels d'une fabrication essentiellement macédonienne bien plutôt que thessalienne : appréciation toute personnelle, que je n'ai nullement la sottise prétention de vouloir imposer à qui que ce soit, qui même, j'en ai peur, semblera, de prime abord, trop tranchante peut-être ou trop absolue, mais de laquelle, cependant, j'ose espérer qu'on voudra tenir quelque compte, si on ne refuse pas d'accorder qu'un antiquaire qui, depuis plus de vingt-cinq ans, s'occupe spécialement de la numismatique de cette contrée, a pu acquérir, dans cette étude, sinon le droit de parler avec pleine autorité, tout au moins une certaine dose de compétence et d'expérience pratique.

Au reste et pour couper court, qu'on prenne la peine de comparer, pendant un instant, notre pièce avec le didrachme des *Oreskii* que je viens de citer, on aura tout de suite la preuve que les différences qui les séparent sont, en réalité, fort peu sensibles. Elles consistent uniquement en ce que sur l'une le groupe regarde à gauche tandis que sur l'autre il est tourné à droite, qu'ici le personnage a la tête couverte d'un casque, et que là, il porte la *kausia macédonienne*. Quant au style ou à la manière dont la composition est traitée, on y reconnaît visiblement l'influence de la même école archaïque—seulement, la présence du carré creux sans adjonction de type au de symbole qu'on voit figurer au revers du didrachme des *Oreskii*, montre que celui-ci est un peu plus ancien ; le poids, en outre, est presque identique dans les deux pièces (152 grains anglais pour l'une, 142 pour

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Pl. IV. fig. 8. Je n'ai pas cru nécessaire de faire reproduire le dessin de ce didrachme, parce que j'ai pensé que le mémoire de M. Head, devant être, à l'heure présente, entre les mains de tous les numismatistes anglais, il suffisait d'y renvoyer le lecteur.

l'autre). Si la nôtre est plus légère, cette différence ne prouve absolument rien et ne saurait constituer une sérieuse objection ; car le déchet qu'a subi notre exemplaire provient tout uniment de ce qu'il a beaucoup plus circulé que l'autre et qu'il a, par surcroît, été percé, ce qui nécessairement a dû lui faire perdre quelque chose de son poids primitif. Enfin, si on s'en réfère aux tables dressées exprès pour cet objet par M. V. Vazquez Queipo,<sup>6</sup> on se convaincra que le poids de notre médaille, même tel qu'il est (9.20 gr. fr.), se trouve en parfaite corrélation avec celui de tous les didrachmes frappés, à cette époque, par les *Oreskii*, par les *Létéens* ou autres peuplades macédoniennes, et que ce poids, qui oscille entre 9.02 et 9.82, n'a jamais été constaté une seule fois sur les monnaies de la Thessalie : cela, par la très-bonne raison que, dans cette dernière contrée, on n'employait généralement que le système *éginétique* tandis qu'on se servait, en Macédoine, avant le règne de Philippe II., du système que M. Vazquez Queipo a cru devoir désigner sous le nom spécial d'*olympique*. Or, c'est là, je le déclare, un argument qui, à mes yeux, est aussi capital que décisif.

Secondement, je me fonde, sur cette autre considération, que l'*Ichnae* de Thessalie—bien, qu'à la vérité, elle ait été mentionnée par Strabon—n'est, en réalité, connue que dans quelques traditions mythologiques mises en œuvre par les poètes,<sup>7</sup> et à cause sans doute d'un Temple de *Thémis* surnommée *Ichnaeenne* qui existait en cet endroit, mais que rien, absolument rien dans l'histoire proprement dite, ne s'y rapporte ou même n'y fait allusion en quoi

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<sup>6</sup> Essai sur les Systèmes Métriques et Monétaires des Anciens Peuples. Paris, 1859. In 8vo. 1<sup>re</sup> partie de Tables : Monn. Grecques, p. 148 *et seq.*

<sup>7</sup> Lycophr. Cassand., v. 129 ; Antholog. Gr., i. p. 60.

que ce soit ; ce qui n'est point du tout le cas pour l'*Ichnae* de Macédoine—tout porte à croire que ce n'était pas une ville libre et autonome dans la vraie acception du mot, mais très-probablement une simple bourgade, une sorte d'aggrégat peu considérable d'habitations qui s'étaient, avec le temps, successivement groupées autour du temple et sous sa protection ; que loin d'avoir donné naissance à l'*Ichnae* de Macédoine—ainsi que l'a supposé Raoul Rochette—ce seraient bien plutôt, à mon humble avis, quelques-uns de ceux d'entre les *Bottiéens* expulsés par les *Téménides* qui auraient apporté avec eux, en cet endroit, le culte de *Thémis Euboulia* pratiqué de longue date dans leur pays, et qui, après avoir construit le temple, lui auraient imposé le nom d'*Ichnae*, en souvenir de leur cité natale.

Ce qui tendrait à confirmer—au moins dans une certaine mesure—la dernière conjecture que je viens d'exprimer, à savoir : que l'*Ichnae* de Thessalie serait vraisemblablement issue d'une colonie *Bottiéenne* et, par conséquent, d'*Ichnae* de Macédoine, c'est le fait qui résulte du repeuplement, après la mort d'Alexandre le Grand, et par les mêmes *Bottiéens*, de la ville de *Nicaea*<sup>8</sup> en Bithynie et d'une autre ville homonyme située chez les *Locriens Epicnémidiens*—de ce rapprochement assez curieux en soi, mais auquel je ne voudrais point, cependant, donner plus d'importance qu'il ne convient, on pourrait, ce semble, tirer au moins cette induction

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<sup>8</sup> Voy. dans Steph. Byz. l'article *Νίκαια*, où il est dit que cette ville, appelée d'abord *Ancoré*, puis *Antigonia*, et enfin *Nicaea* en l'honneur de la femme de Lysimaque, avait été colonisée par des *Bottiéens*. *Νίκαια Πόλις Βιθυνίας Βοττιαίων ἄποικος.* Le même auteur ajoute : *Δευτέρα (Νίκαια) τῶν Ἐπικνημιδίων Λοκρῶν.* Suidas (Lexic.) dit en parlant de cette dernière : *Νίκαια, πόλις Λοκρίδος ἐπιβαλαττίδος Βοττιαίων ἄποικος.*



morale : que du moment où les *Bottiéens*, bien qu'en réalité soumis à Alexandre, avaient encore conservé, malgré cette dépendance, une force d'expansion assez grande pour être en état non-seulement de reconstruire *Nicaea* de Bithynie et *Nicaea* de Locride, mais aussi de fonder, en Orient, des villes telles que *Ichnae* et *Edessa* de *Mésopotamie*, et *Pella* de la *Cœlésyrie*, à plus forte raison ont-ils pu, durant le temps où ils étaient entièrement libres et autonomes, fonder une ville du nom d'*Ichnae*, en Thessalie.

À dire vrai, Raoul Rochette s'est efforcé de démontrer que Étienne de Byzance ainsi que Suidas s'étaient tous deux trompés ; que le passage où il est question des deux villes de *Nicaea* avait été corrompu et qu'au lieu du mot *Βοττιῶν* il fallait lire *Βοιωτίων*—bien que ce savant assuré qu'aucun auteur ancien ne parle d'établissements formés, soit en *Bithynie* soit en *Locride* par des *Bottiéens*, et tout en reconnaissant avec lui, qu'une correction telle que celle qu'il propose de faire au texte des deux écrivains grecs pourrait, à la rigueur, se comprendre et avoir une raison d'être (vu le peu de différence graphique qui existe entre les deux mots), j'avoue, cependant, que les arguments dont il se sert ne me paraissent ni assez clairs ni assez concluants pour que, sans autre informé, on admette, dans l'un et l'autre texte, une double erreur de ce genre. D'autant mieux que Suidas, en ce qui concerne particulièrement la colonie de *Locride*, ne se contente pas de répéter purement et simplement les renseignements fournis par Étienne de Byzance, mais qu'il appelle encore en témoignage, sur ce point, l'autorité d'*Æschine*, d'après lequel la même ville se trouve ainsi nommée dans les mêmes termes par Harpocraton (*voc. Νίκαια*).

Au reste, il est un fait certain, qu'il importe de ne point perdre de vue, c'est que l'*Ichnae* de la Basse Macédoine existait déjà au temps des guerres médiques, puisqu'Hérodote (*loc. cit.*) prend la peine de la citer parmi les villes du *Golfe Thermaïque* dont la flotte de Xerxès s'était emparée. Le territoire qui s'étendait autour d'*Ichnae* s'appelait du nom de la ville même (*Ἰχναίη*—*Ichnitide*). Hésychius le dit, Suidas, qui en parle également, ajoute qu'on employait quelques fois, par synecdoche, le mot *Ἰχναίη* pour désigner la Macédoine toute entière. Ce détail a son importance, car il montre que cette ville, ainsi que l'étroite bande de terre qui en dépendait (*στεινὸν χωρίον*—Hérodote.) située entre le *Lydias* et l'*Axius*, jouissaient, depuis longtemps, d'une grande célébrité. En pourrait-on dire autant de l'*Ichnae* de Thessalie? Non, évidemment; puisque nous ne possédons à son sujet aucune espèce de documents positifs et que Strabon, écrivain d'époque très-postérieure, est le seul de tous les géographes ou historiens anciens, qui la mentionne.

Enfin le troisième et dernier argument que j'ai à faire valoir en faveur de mon attribution, je le tire d'une particularité orthographique que je n'avais point d'abord aperçue en examinant la légende et qui, à présent que je m'en suis rendu compte, ne laisse pas que de peser d'un certain poids dans la balance.

J'avais cru dans le premier moment, et Mr. Poole, aussi, croyait avec moi, que l'inscription de la médaille devait se lire **NOIANXI** pour **ΝΩΙΑΝΧΙ**, forme archaïque qui me semblait devoir être d'autant plus exacte et correcte qu'elle résultait nécessairement de la déclinaison, au génitif pluriel, de l'ethnique *Ἰχναίος* donné par Étienne de Byzance (*loc. cit.*). Mais en y regardant

avec plus d'attention et après avoir constaté que les lettres de la légende—dans le but sans doute de produire un effet régulier et harmonieux à l'œil—avaient dû être intentionnellement distribuées deux par deux de manière à former, autour du type, trois petits groupes égaux (NO-AN-XI), je n'ai pas tardé à me convaincre que la leçon NOIANXI était fautive; en d'autres termes, qu'il n'y avait jamais eu, sur la pièce, place pour un second I, et qu'il fallait de toute nécessité, lire NOANXI, forme contractée d' *Ἰχναίων*. Or, c'est là encore, en faveur de ma thèse, un *critérium* précieux, un indice que je considère comme d'extrême importance et qui, à lui seul, serait déjà suffisamment caractéristique: attendu, que si la numismatique de la Thessalie ne nous fournit aucun exemple de ce genre de forme orthographique, en revanche nous en trouvons plusieurs dans celle de la Macédoine. En effet, personne n'ignore, je le présume, qu'il y a dans cette contrée nombre de villes ou de peuples dont le nom est écrit de façons très-diverses, souvent même qui semblent de prime abord peu conformes à la déclinaison régulière de leur ethnique.

Sans vouloir, à cet égard, m'autoriser plus que de raison du nom des *Bottiéens*, lequel est orthographié tantôt BOTTIAIΩN, tantôt BOTTAIΩN, tantôt BOTTEATΩN;<sup>9</sup> sans parler d'avantage des variantes AMΦIΓOΛITΩN, AMΦIΓOΛITEΩN, AMΦIΓOΛEITΩN<sup>10</sup>—BEPOIEΩN, BEPOIAIΩN, BEPAIΩN<sup>11</sup>—EΔECCAIΩN et EΔECCCEΩN<sup>12</sup> (parce que, dans le fond, tous ces exemples datant d'une époque évidemment plus récente pourraient, à la rigueur, être récusés comme

<sup>9</sup> Eckhel, tom. ii. p. 70; Pellerin, Rec. i., 182; Sestini, Deser. Num. Vet., p. 99; Mionnet, tom. i. suppl. iii.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

n'offrant pas une valeur assez probative), je me contenterai de citer celui qui m'est, à point nommé, fourni par les monnaies de *Mende*, ville peu distante d'*Ichnae*, et sur lesquelles on trouve son nom écrit sous une forme et dans des conditions exactement semblables à celles de notre pièce. Bien que l'ethnique de *Mende*, donné par Étienne de Byzance et autres auteurs, soit *Μενδαῖος* et qu'il affecte, par conséquent, la même structure que le mot *Ἰχναῖος*, cela n'empêche pas, cependant, que dans son application aux choses de la numismatique, il ne subisse d'assez fréquentes variations. En voici les plus saillantes : **MINΔAION** et **MINΔAON**, **MENΔAION** et **MENΔAON**;<sup>13</sup> sans compter, autrement que pour mémoire, des formes passagères ou plus rarement employées, **MENΔAION** et **MENΔAIH**. Au besoin, je pourrais encore m'autoriser des monnaies de la ville macédonienne d'*Aenia* ou *Aeneia*, sur lesquelles l'ethnique est écrit : **AINAΩN**.<sup>14</sup>

Je n'ajouterai plus rien aux divers arguments que je viens de produire : ils devront, je pense, paraître assez concluants pour convaincre tout lecteur impartial, que mon attribution est, à la fois, aussi logique que vraisemblable.

## § II.

Maintenant que ce côté de la question est vidé et que nous n'avons plus à nous en occuper, il convient d'étudier notre médaille au point de vue spécial de la composition des types, et par une appréciation comparative du travail

<sup>13</sup> Mionnet, *loc. cit.*, p. 32 ; Éd. de Cadavène, Rec. de Méd. Gr. Inéd., p. 65. Ma collection.

<sup>14</sup> Mionnet, *ibid.*, p. 18 ; Sestini, Lett. Num. Contin., viii. p. 1, tab. i. fig. 1.

artistique, de déterminer, s'il est possible, l'époque de sa fabrication : en même temps que nous aurons à résumer les quelques notions topographiques que l'on possède sur le district macédonien où était située la ville dont cette précieuse médaille vient, pour la première fois et d'une façon aussi inattendue, de nous remémorer le nom.

J'ai déjà fait remarquer l'étroite analogie qui existe entre le didrachme d'*Ichnae* et le didrachme du *Oreskii* publié par Mr. Head, non-seulement sous le rapport spécial du sujet qui en forme l'empreinte, mais encore au point de vue très-significatif du style général et du poids ou valeur métallique. Un pareil accord de types, de fabrique, et de poids ne pouvant pas, évidemment, être attribué à un simple hasard prouverait, selon moi, qu'en raison du système fédératif qui, dès une haute époque, régissait certaines peuplades macédoniennes, il a dû exister entre elles une convention réciproque tant pour le choix des types que pour l'adoption, en commun, d'un même étalon monétaire—convention ou entente qui leur était virtuellement commandée, moins peut-être par des affinités de race que par une similitude d'état social et de pratiques religieuses. Comment, sans cela, arriverait-on à s'expliquer pourquoi, par exemple, le type du *centaure enlevant une femme* a pu être simultanément employé par les *Oreskii*, par les habitants de *Lète*, par ceux d'*Æane*, probablement aussi par quelques autres tribus macédoniennes,<sup>15</sup> et pourquoi, de leur côté, toutes les villes de la *Béotie* ont conservé religieusement, pendant la longue période de leur autonomie, le type si

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<sup>15</sup> La collection particulière de la Banque d'Angleterre possède une autre pièce de ce genre, c'est-à-dire, avec ce même type du *centaure*, laquelle pièce offre, à la place d'un des trois noms sur-mentionnés, une légende qui paraît être complètement nou-

essentiellement caractéristique du *bouclier national*? On est donc bien forcé, d'après cela, de reconnaître que, pour les différents peuples, le type, demeurant le même, serait par lui seul un moyen de classification inefficace et tout-à-fait insuffisant si, d'autre part, nous n'avions pas pour nous guider la précieuse ressource de l'élément épigraphique, lequel permet d'établir une distinction nominative et de rendre, à chacun de ces peuples, ce qui lui appartient. Je me propose, du reste, de montrer, dans un prochain article qui fera suite à celui-ci, que les monnaies macédoniennes au type de la *chèvre couchée* et avec *carré creux* au revers, qu'on persiste, par pure routine et sans en avoir jamais administré aucune preuve valable, à attribuer aux anciens rois de Macédoine, que ces monnaies, dis-je, ont été bien certainement frappées par diverses villes et uniquement dans un but fédératif ou d'intérêt commun.

On peut donc, en s'appuyant sur ces données, et en tenant compte, je le répète, des analogies manifestes de types, de fabrique et de poids, inférer, sans trop de témérité, que la date d'émission de notre didrachme d'*Ichnae*, si elle n'est point rigoureusement contemporaine de l'époque où fut frappé le didrachme des *Oreskii*, édité par Mr. Head, ne doit pas, en tous cas, s'en éloigner de plus de vingt-cinq ou trente ans. Pour cette dernière pièce qui, par la présence du carré creux comme aussi par la forme un peu plus archaïque des caractères de l'inscription, dénote que le graveur du coin ne s'était point encore affranchi

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velle, mais dont, malheureusement, le déchiffrement n'est pas encore assez sûr pour que j'ose l'invoquer autrement qu'à titre d'argument provisoire; je me borne à constater le fait en ajoutant que je ne désespère pas d'arriver à découvrir le sens de cette légende.

des rigides procédés de l'ancienne école doricienne, j'en placerais la fabrication vers le commencement des guerres médiques, c'est à savoir, entre l'an 490 et l'an 470 avant J.-C., approximativement ; et pour le didrachme d'*Ichnae*, dont le style et le système d'écriture, visiblement perfectionnés, semblent déjà faire pressentir l'apparition prochaine de l'école de Phidias et l'influence vivifiante qu'elle ne tardera pas à exercer, j'en reculerais, à cause de cela, la date d'émission jusqu'en 460, voire même jusqu'en 450 avant J.-C. ; mais pas plus tard.

Je ne puis, il est vrai, donner à l'appui de cette appréciation chronologique aucune preuve positive et directe, mais seulement quelques considérations esthétiques basées sur un rapprochement comparatif avec d'autres monuments d'un ordre plus élevé et dont la date est, sinon d'une certitude absolue, du moins généralement admise ; considérations qui aideront à confirmer ma théorie et que, peut-être, on ne trouvera pas trop déplacées ici.

Les monuments que j'ai en vue sont, d'une part, les célèbres marbres du temple d'Égine, desquels le British Museum possède de superbes moulages et, qu'à défaut des originaux, les antiquaires anglais pourront aisément consulter ; d'autre part, la fameuse stèle peinte d'*Aristion*, œuvre du statuaire *Aristoclès*, et que le monde des savants connaît depuis longtemps sous le nom de *Guerrier de Marathon*.

Ceci posé et toutes réserves, bien entendu, étant faites quant à ce qui concerne la dimension et la destination différentes de ces derniers ouvrages, si on veut prendre la peine—ainsi que je l'ai fait moi-même plusieurs fois—de les comparer, pour un moment, avec la figure du guerrier casqué qui décore le droit de la médaille d'*Ichnae*, on verra que sous le rapport du style, du modèle, de l'expression,

en un mot, de l'exécution d'ensemble et des détails du costume et abstraction faite, cela va sans dire, de l'attitude et du mouvement propres à chacune de ces figures, on verra, dis-je, qu'il y a entre le type de la médaille et les marbres, plus que de simples points de contact, un vrai lien de parenté qui accuse manifestement un synchronisme qu'aucun archéologue impartial ne pourra se résoudre à méconnaître. On sent qu'il y a là, des deux parts, du côté des statues comme du côté de la médaille, dans les détails anatomiques, dans l'exagération conventionnelle de la musculature des bras et des jambes, enfin dans la manière dont sont traités la barbe et les cheveux, l'indice palpable que ces divers ouvrages procèdent indubitablement de ce réalisme artistique—naïf, il est vrai, mais plein d'ampleur et de force—qui est le caractère le plus saillant de l'ancienne école dorienne : tradition ou principes que le graveur de notre médaille n'a pu puiser autre part que dans les habitudes et les doctrines, alors encore vivaces, de cette école célèbre.

Les caractères paléographiques de l'inscription gravée au bas de la stèle d'*Aristion*, contribueraient également à donner une force de plus au rapprochement que je signale ; attendu que ceux de ces caractères qui entrent ou fonctionnent dans la légende de la médaille, ne diffèrent, les uns des autres, absolument en rien quant à la forme. Je sais bien que quelques antiquaires ont prétendu, qu'en raison même de ces caractères paléographiques, il fallait faire remonter la date du bas-relief d'*Aristion* plus haut que les guerres médiques, et jusqu'au milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C. ; mais je confesse que, pour ma part, il me serait bien difficile de les suivre dans cette voie, que je considère—je ne crains pas de le dire—comme très-exagérée et dépassant les bornes d'une sage et saine critique ; sur-



tout si on s'avise de faire intervenir dans le débat et de comparer le travail artistique de cette stèle avec les *métopes du Parthénon* exécutées par Phidias ou ses élèves. Aussi porté que l'on soit par nature à vouloir vieillir, et à vieillir outre mesure, le bas-relief d'*Aristion* dont l'antiquité pourtant est déjà bien respectable, il me semble impossible d'admettre, à moins de parti pris, que ce bas-relief puisse remonter vers le milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle et qu'il soit, par conséquent, antérieur de quatre-vingts ou cent années aux susdites *métopes*—je pense, au contraire, que cette curieuse stèle, dont le style, d'accord avec les caractères paléographiques de l'inscription,<sup>16</sup> semble décélérer un art déjà très-avancé, ne saurait être bien antérieure—si, toutefois, elle est antérieure—à l'époque qu'on assigne généralement pour l'exécution des marbres d'Égine, laquelle époque correspondrait, de l'aveu presque unanime des connaisseurs les plus autorisés, à la 75<sup>e</sup> ou à la 78<sup>e</sup> Olympiade (480—468 avant J.-C.).

Or, c'est précisément entre la 78<sup>e</sup> et la 80<sup>e</sup> Olympiade (468 à 460 avant J.-C.)—époque qui cadrerait on ne peut mieux avec l'âge présumé de notre médaille—que commençait à se faire connaître, dans la contrée thracomaçédonienne, tout un groupe d'habiles artistes, dont le plus illustre représentant—après, bien entendu, le grand *Polygnote de Thasos*—paraît avoir été le sculpteur *Pæonios de Mende*.

Suivant Pausanias, ce sculpteur qui était né à *Mende*,

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<sup>16</sup> Voici cette inscription : ΕΡΓΟΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΙΟΜΟΣ. On remarquera que les Α, les Ι, les Ο, et surtout les Ν, de cette inscription sont exactement de même forme que les lettres correspondantes qui fonctionnent dans le nom ΝΟΑΝΧΙ, en faisant la part, cela va de soi, de la différence qui existe dans la marche de l'écriture ; l'une allant de gauche à droite, l'autre allant de droite à gauche.

ville presque limitrophe du district macédonien où se trouvait située *Ichnae*, et qui—tout porte à le croire—avait dû commencer sa carrière d'artiste par travailler d'abord pour son pays natal, serait venu plus tard se fixer dans l'*Hellade*, où, en égard à sa grande renommée, il aurait alors été chargé d'exécuter le fronton oriental du temple de Jupiter à Olympie, pendant que, de son côté, *Alcamènes*, élève de Phidias, travaillait au fronton occidental—τὰ μὲν δὴ ἔμπροσθεν ἐν τοῖς αἰτοῖς ἐστὶ Παιωνίου, γένος ἐκ Μένδης τῆς Θρακίας· τὰ δὲ ὀπίσθεν αὐτῶν Ἀλκαμένους ἀνδρὸς ἡλικίαν τε κατὰ Φειδίαν καὶ δευτερεῖα ἐνεγκάμενου σοφίας ἐς ποίησιν ἀγαλμάτων.—(Elid. i. 10.)

Il y a donc là un autre rapprochement assez curieux à faire et duquel, par conséquent, il est permis d'inférer que *Pæonios*,<sup>17</sup> avant d'aller s'établir dans la Grèce, a bien pu, comme tant d'autres artistes, exercer d'abord la profession moins relevée, il est vrai, mais sans doute plus lucrative, de graveur de coins, et léguer, en partant, ses procédés techniques aux élèves qui durent immanquablement se former sous ses yeux et à son école.

On sait si peu de choses relativement aux graveurs des monnaies antiques, le silence des écrivains à ce sujet est si

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<sup>17</sup> Outre *Pæonios de Mende*, Pausanias cite encore plusieurs autres sculpteurs originaires de la Macédoine, tels que *Lysos* (Μακεδὼν Λῦσος), *Hérodotos* et *Sthinis*; ces derniers tous deux natifs d'*Olynthus*. Les beaux médaillons d'argent qu'on attribue à Alexandre I<sup>er</sup>, non moins que ceux d'*Acanthus*, de *Mende*, d'*Amphipolis*, prouvent surabondamment que, dans le courant du cinquième siècle av. J.-C., les artistes de mérite ne manquaient pas en Macédoine; plus tard il en apparait de nouveaux qui ne le cèdent en rien, pour l'habileté, à leurs devanciers, et qui continuent la tradition léguée par eux; tradition qui ne disparaît même pas entièrement après la chute des rois: témoin, Alexandre fils de Persée, qui s'était rendu célèbre, à Rome, pour son extrême talent dans la toreutique comme aussi dans la statuaire.

absolu, en un mot on ignore si complètement dans quelle classe d'artistes ils se recrutaient et à quelles sources ils puisaient leur enseignement, qu'il n'est point défendu, en présence de telles obscurités, de se livrer aux hypothèses et de penser que, peut-être, commençaient-ils à se former dans les ateliers des sculpteurs ; quand, d'autre part, on voit combien il y a d'analogie entre les procédés de la glyptique ou de la gravure sur métaux et certains procédés employés par la statuaire ou mieux encore par la *toreutique*, n'a-t-on pas en quelque sorte le droit de supposer, qu'un homme habile et à la fois versé dans les deux arts, pouvait parfaitement, à un moment donné, appliquer ses connaissances pratiques et consacrer son talent à la confection des matrices ou des coins de la monnaie ? De là à admettre que le sculpteur *Paonios* aurait pu, sinon graver lui-même, en tous cas faire graver par un de ses élèves et d'après ses propres dessins, le coin de notre médaille d'*Ichnae*, il n'y a qu'un pas.

Au reste je n'entends pas émettre, au sujet du sculpteur *Paonios*, autre chose qu'une simple hypothèse, sans me dissimuler que par cela seul, qu'elle est une hypothèse, ma proposition offre plus d'un côté vulnérable ou accessible à la critique.

### § III.

Jetons maintenant un coup d'œil sur le district macédonien où l'on présume qu'était située la ville d'*Ichnae* et disons, en même temps, quelques mots des circonstances, bien plutôt fabuleuses qu'historiques, auxquelles, d'après certaines traditions mythologiques, elle aurait dû son nom ; peut-être cet examen nous fournira-t-il le moyen d'éclaircir, chemin faisant, plusieurs points de la numismatique macédonienne qui m'ont toujours semblé assez obscurs et

qu'il serait, par conséquent, on ne peut plus utile de mieux déterminer.

La ville d'*Ichnae* (Ἰχναί), qu'Ératosthènes appelle *Achnas* (Ἀχνας), Philetas, *Achnen* (Ἀχνην), et que plusieurs écrivains modernes—faute, sans doute, de s'être rendu un compte suffisamment exact des diverses délimitations territoriales de la contrée—placent, tout-à-fait à tort, dans la *Piérie*, était en réalité positivement située dans la *Bottiéide*, près des bords mêmes du *Lydius*, dont les eaux vont, un peu plus bas, se mêler et se confondre avec celles du fleuve *Axius*. Le *Lydius* n'est, à proprement parler, que le canal d'écoulement du lac ou marais de ce nom (appelé également Βόρβορος λίμνη), et par le moyen duquel les navires, en remontant jusqu'à *Pella*, mettaient cette dernière ville en communication avec la mer.—(Strab., vii. 23.)

Limitrophe, il est vrai, de la *Piérie*, qui la bornait au sud, de même que la *Cyrrestide* la limitait au nord, mais de laquelle cependant il faut nettement la distinguer (puisqu'en fait elle en était séparée par le cours inférieur de l'*Haliacmon*), la *Bottiéide* occupait, vers la côte que baignent les flots du Golfe *Thermaïque*, une étroite bande de terre (τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν στενὸν χωρίον.—Hérod. vii. 123) qui fut, de bonne heure, comprise dans la province de l'*Émathie*, cet antique et primitif berceau de la puissance des rois de Macédoine. Nonobstant sa faible étendue, ce district renfermait dans l'antiquité plusieurs villes dont la plus importante fut très-probablement *Ichnae*, jusqu'au moment où Amyntas, frère de Philippe II, transportant sa résidence d'*Édessa* à *Pella*, fit, de cette dernière, la capitale officielle de tout le royaume.

Quoiqu'on ait dit souvent que le culte d'*Apollon*, surnommé *Ichnaeen*, avait son principal et plus révéré sanctuaire dans la *Piérie*, la nature même de cette épithète

prouverait que le culte dont il s'agit a dû prendre naissance dans l'*Ichmitide* bien plutôt que dans la *Piérie*. Tout donne lieu de croire que si, depuis, ce culte fut plus spécialement que partout ailleurs pratiqué dans cette partie de la Macédoine, c'est qu'il y avait été originairement apporté de la *Bottiéide* par les prédécesseurs d'Amintas, lorsque ces princes, après en avoir opéré la soumission et jaloux d'étendre leurs conquêtes vers la région méridionale, furent parvenus à expulser les *Piériens* de leur sol natal et à s'emparer de cette riche province.

D'après une très-ancienne tradition rapportée par Étienne de Byzance (*loc. cit.*), ce serait précisément à l'endroit où fut, plus tard, bâtie la ville d'*Ichnae*, que *Jupiter*, suivant *Thémis* à la trace, y surprit cette déesse, lui fit violence et en eut, paraît-il, *Dicé*, autre personification de la *Justice*, ou plutôt dédoublement en deux personnalités d'une seule et même idée symbolique. En effet, dans la théogonie des Grecs, *Thémis* personnifie la justice humaine, *Dicé* représente la justice divine : ce n'est que plus tard qu'on les confond ensemble. Dans le poème d'Hésiode (*Op. et D.*, v. 254) *Dicé* est une vierge fille de Zeus ; de son côté, Pindare (*Olymp.* xiii. 11) qualifie *Thémis* de *Parèdres*, ou conjointe de *Jupiter Hospitalier*—Πάρεδρος Διὸς Ξενίου. Une autre tradition non moins fabuleuse qui nous est transmise par Lycophron (v. 129) dit qu'on regardait *Thémis Ichnaeenne* comme étant la fille d'*Hélios* : τῆς Σ' Ἡλίου θυγατρὸς Ἰχναίας βραβεύς ; tradition qui, à elle seule, suffit à expliquer pourquoi le culte d'*Apollon* était pratiqué à *Ichnae* conjointement avec celui de *Thémis*. Le fait de l'existence à *Ichnae* d'un oracle d'*Apollon* est, d'ailleurs, confirmé par cette phrase d'Hésychius : ἐνθα τὸ μαντεῖον ὁ Ἀπόλλων κάτεσχε καὶ τιμᾶται. Rien d'étonnant, en suite de cela, à voir le culte de *Thémis*

rapproché de celui d'*Apollon* dans la même ville. À *Delphes* aussi on mettait ces deux divinités en rapport, et *Thémis*, disait-on, y avait d'abord rendu des oracles.

Les mots grecs *Ἰχνος* (*vestige, trace du pied*), *ἱχνεύω* (*chercher à la piste*), désignent celui qui marche sur les traces d'un autre : de là, évidemment, le nom *Ἰχναί* imposé à la ville, et l'épithète *Ἰχναίη* donnée à *Thémis* et à *Diée*. Sans aucun doute le culte de *Thémis* est venu de la *Crète* et a été introduit dans la *Bottiéide* par les compagnons du *Crétois Botton*, héros éponyme de la nation *bottienne* ; car, suivant quelques légendes qui avaient cours dans cette île, *Thémis* est la première femme de *Zéus* et devient, après son mariage, *mère des Heures*. C'est donc à des traditions émanées originairement de la *Crète*, c'est à la poursuite de *Jupiter* et à son union avec *Thémis*, que se rapporte le nom d'*Ichnae* et que doit remonter l'établissement de son culte dans cette cité.

Si, maintenant, nous appliquons ces diverses données à l'interprétation du type de la roue ou de l'objet pareil à une roue<sup>18</sup> qu'on voit figurer au revers de notre médaille, il est permis de penser que ce type—bien qu'à la vérité ce soit un de ces symboles qui se rencontrent presque partout et que, par sa nature même, il ne se prête pas toujours à ce qu'on en tire une explication bien définie—doit, dans le cas qui nous occupe, renfermer un sens essentiellement mythique et religieux : en d'autres termes il doit avoir été adopté, non-seulement comme emblème allusif à l'étymologie du nom de la ville, mais encore et principalement parce qu'il fonctionne parmi

<sup>18</sup> Eckhel lui-même, cet oracle de la numismatique, n'a point osé décider si ce symbole est vraiment une roue ou autre chose, ni quelle peut en être la signification : "*Quid rota, aut si malis, orbis quadrifariam sectus . . . indicet, mihi incompertum.*" (Num. Vet. Anecd., pars. i. p. 32.)

les attributs de la *déesse de la justice*, laquelle, dans sa course vigilante et journalière, suit constamment sur son *char d'or* (χρυσάρματος, Pind.) les traces du coupable et ne les abandonne jamais. La *roue*<sup>19</sup> serait donc, ici, une image allégorique relative au mouvement continuél qu'on prête à *Thémis* en tant que considérée comme *déesse de la justice humaine*, ou comme la *Tyché*, le *génie de la ville*, ou encore comme *mère des Heures* : "Les Parques," dit Pindare, "conduisirent dans un *char d'or* la prudente *Thémis* vers les sources de l'océan et sur le chemin brillant de l'Olympe pour qu'elle devint la première épouse de Jupiter, le protecteur des humains. Il en eut ces Heures<sup>20</sup> bienfaisantes qui président à la production des fruits."—(Pind. ap. Clém. Alex. Strom., vi. 731.)

À moins que, de préférence à cette explication, on ne veuille admettre—ainsi qu'au sujet d'un type semblable l'ont jadis proposé Brøndsted<sup>21</sup> et Raoul Rochette<sup>22</sup>—que l'objet en question n'est point du tout une *roue de char*, mais un disque à quatre rayons, en un mot cet ustensile qui, pareil à une roue dont il avait la forme, se plaçait sur le *trépied d'Apollon* et qui était devenu, sous le nom de κύκλος μαντικός, l'un des principaux symboles de son culte.

<sup>19</sup> Notons, en passant, que le symbole de la *roue* est, pour le même motif, consacré à *Némésis* (la *Vindicté céleste*) et qu'en outre on donne pareillement à cette *déesse* le surnom d'Ἰχναίη. La griffon femelle avec le pied droit posé sur une roue, qu'on voit figurer sur un assez grand nombre de monnaies de *Smyrne*, n'est pas autre chose qu'une allégorie relative à *Némésis* dont le culte était tout particulièrement pratiqué dans cette ville.—(Voy. Mionnet, *Smyrna*.)

<sup>20</sup> Notons aussi, à titre de rapprochement, que parmi les *Heures* filles de *Jupiter* et de *Thémis*, lesquelles sont au nombre de trois, l'une d'elles portait spécialement le nom de *Dicé*; les deux autres s'appelèrent Εὐνομία et Εὐφροσύνη.

<sup>21</sup> Recherches et Voyages en Grèce, i. p. 118.

<sup>22</sup> Mem. de Numism. et d'Antiq., p. 171.

Dans ce cas, on concevrait sans peine à quel titre le *cycle mantique* aurait pu se produire sur la monnaie d'une ville où le culte d'*Apollon* était assez célèbre pour qu'on ait cru devoir le distinguer par l'épithète si caractéristique d'*Ichnacen*. Le lecteur décidera entre les deux solutions.

Quant au type du droit (*un guerrier casqué et vêtu d'une courte tunique, s'efforçant d'arrêter un cheval qui se cabre*), s'il a un sens caché et religieux, je dois avouer franchement que je ne le saisis point et que je ne sais pas, non plus, à quel mythe on pourrait le rattacher. C'est pourquoi, au lieu de m'aventurer sans guide dans la voie généralement si périlleuse et si incertaine des conjectures, j'estime qu'il vaut mieux m'abstenir et laisser à d'autres, plus sagaces que moi, le soin d'en deviner la signification. Si, au contraire, il se rapporte tout simplement à quelque tradition nationale, à quelque coutume locale ou de la vie réelle, reposant sur un ensemble de faits dont le fond serait historique, peut-être alors servirait-il à rappeler quelqu'un de ces exercices de l'éducation civile ou militaire auxquels on astreignait de bonne heure la jeunesse *bottiéenne* : car il ne faut pas oublier que les *Bottiéens*, sur le territoire desquels était située la ville d'*Ichnae*, jouissaient dans l'antiquité d'une réputation considérable et justement méritée pour leur adresse particulière autant que pour leur grande aptitude dans l'élève et le dressage des chevaux ; à ce point, que c'est précisément à cause de cela, que les rois de Macédoine avaient, dès le principe, tout exprès choisi ce district pour y établir le centre de leurs nombreux haras.<sup>23</sup> C'est de là aussi qu'ils tiraient, dit-on, leur meilleure cavalerie.

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<sup>23</sup> On sait toute l'importance des haras royaux de la *Bottiéide* et combien, par suite de cette création, le commerce des chevaux y avait pris d'extension. Les marchands de cette contrée étaient



## § IV.

Mais laissons de côté, pour un moment, la symbolique avec ses obscures et lointaines légendes—desquelles, au surplus, nous aurons bientôt à reparler—et rentrons dans le domaine des faits réels ; autrement dit, revenons à la topographie d'*Ichnae*. Le rapide coup d'œil que nous allons y jeter nous fournira, je pense, le moyen d'élucider l'un de ces deux points de la numismatique macédonienne dont nous avons dit quelques mots en commençant.

Si l'on s'en rapporte aux plus récentes observations faites sur les lieux mêmes et *de visu* par quelques voyageurs modernes, on trouve, juste à l'endroit où l'on présume qu'était située *Ichnae*, l'enceinte d'une autre ville de construction, à ce qu'il semble, un peu moins ancienne, dont les ruines se confondent avec celles de la première et que Pline, qui la mentionne sous le nom de *Dicaea*, place sur le *Golf Thermaïque*, dans le voisinage de *Chalastra*<sup>24</sup> : "*In Thermaico sinu oppida Dicaea . . .*" (lib. iv., xvii., 10). L'itinéraire d'Antonin, qui la cite également sous ce même nom de *Dicaea*, en fait une des

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les plus célèbres, en ce genre, de toute l'antiquité ; leurs relations s'étendaient dans toutes les parties de la Grèce, dans le Péloponnèse, dans l'Arcadie, ainsi que le montrent un texte de Plaute (Asin., ii. 2, 68), et un autre texte de Lucien (Asin.). Ce commerce ne tomba pas lorsqu'il n'y eut plus de haras royaux à fournir ; il s'accrut, au contraire, en profitant des établissements créés par les rois. La *Bottiéide* est aujourd'hui encore la contrée riche en chevaux dont parlent les anciens.

<sup>24</sup> Il ne faut pas oublier non plus, que *Chalastra* (aujourd'hui *Koulakia*—Leake, Kiepert, Cousinèry) était, avec Pella, Alorus, et *Ichnae*, l'une des villes principales de la *Bottiéide*. (Strab., vii. 25.) Elle fut détruite, ainsi qu'*Enéa*, *Cissus*, et plusieurs autres, par le roi Cassandre, qui en transporta les débris dans l'ancienne *Therma*, à laquelle il venait de donner le nom de *Thessalonique* en souvenir de sa propre femme née de Philippe fils d'Amyntas.—(Strab., vii. 27, Exc. Palat.)

nombreuses stations qui, sur la *Via Egnatia*, se succédaient entre *Édesse* et *Thessalonique*. Je n'ai pas besoin de faire autrement remarquer que cette *Dicaea macédonienne* est complètement différente de la cité homonyme qui existait en *Thrace*, aux environs d'*Abdère*, et qui avait un port sur le lac *Bistonis* (Strab., vii. 45). Celle-ci est appelée tantôt *Dicaea*,<sup>25</sup> tantôt *Dicaeopolis*,<sup>26</sup> et on en attribue la fondation à un certain *Dicaeos*, prétendu fils de *Neptune*.

Il y aurait donc, d'après cela, tout lieu de penser que ces savants voyageurs sont pleinement dans le vrai lorsqu'ils disent que cette ville de *Dicaea*, indiquée par Pline et par l'itinéraire d'Antonin, doit être, très-probablement, l'ancienne *Ichnae* : en d'autres termes, qu'elle aurait été bâtie sur l'emplacement de cette dernière. Il faudrait alors en conclure que, de même que la capitale de l'*Émathie* a porté alternativement et peut-être aussi simultanément les noms d'*Édessa* et d'*Aegea*, ou encore, de même que l'antique *Therma* est devenue *Thessalonique*, *Potidea* *Cassandra*, *Cardia* *Lysimachia*,<sup>27</sup> la ville d'*Ichnae* a bien pu, par un motif analogue, recevoir une autre appellation à une époque, relativement, plus rapprochée de nous.

Quel degré plus ou moins grand de créance faut-il accorder à cette hypothèse qui assimile *Ichnae* à *Dicaea* ? C'est ce qu'il ne m'appartient pas de décider : attendu

<sup>25</sup> Hérodote., vii. 109 ; Scylax, Péripl., p. 27 ; Steph. Byz. voc. Δίκαια.

<sup>26</sup> Harpocr. ; Suidas, v. Δικαίο Πόλις.

<sup>27</sup> Je pourrais encore citer un assez grand nombre de villes qui ont porté successivement deux et même jusqu'à trois noms différents ; bornons-nous aux suivants : "Zancle, Messana ; Sybaris, Thurium, Copia ; Posidonia, Paestum ; Hipponium, Valentia ; Ancoré, Antigonía, Nicæa ; Mantinea, Antigonía ; Azoé, Patnae ; Kius, Prusias ; Magnésia, Demetrias, &c.

que pour avoir le droit de discuter la question et d'émettre, à cet égard, une opinion tant soit peu autorisée, il faudrait auparavant que j'eusse moi-même étudié avec soin et sur les lieux la topographie de la contrée, chose que, malheureusement pour moi, je n'ai point faite autre part que dans les livres. Mais l'hypothèse étant, *a priori*, admise—et elle me paraît très-vraisemblable—si, d'une part, on reconnaît que *Thémis* et *Dicé* ne constituent, en deux personnes, qu'une seule et même divinité, comme *Pallas* et *Athéné* ; si, d'autre part, on accorde que le nom de *Dicaea* provient du radical  $\Delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta$ , de même que le nom de *Nicaea* dérive de  $\Nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta$ , rien alors n'empêche d'admettre qu'*Ichnae*, ayant été d'abord ruinée ou tout au moins en partie dépeuplée par quelque catastrophe, puis, plus tard, restaurée ou reconstruite sur un nouveau plan, aurait reçu, précisément à cause de cette circonstance, une appellation différente de la première, sans, pour cela, cesser d'être sous l'invocation spéciale de la même divinité ; le mot  $\text{Ἰχναίη}$  étant, comme on l'a vu, une épithète qualificative applicable à *Thémis* aussi bien qu'à *Dicé*. Il n'y aurait rien non plus d'impossible à ce que ce changement de nom ne fût dû principalement à l'influence exercée par un certain nombre de citoyens émigrés de la *Dicaea de Thrace*, lesquels, forcés de s'expatrier à la suite d'une de ces révolutions locales si fréquentes à cette époque dans l'histoire des villes grecques, seraient venus se fixer dans l'*Ichmitide* et auraient imposé à ce nouvel établissement le nom de *Dicaea*, en souvenir de leur cité natale.

Quoiqu'il en soit de cette question d'identité, qu'on est libre, d'ailleurs, de rejeter ou d'accepter, il ne ressort pas moins, de tout ce qui vient d'être exposé, un fait certain, avéré, incontestable : c'est qu'il existait, dans cette partie

de la Macédoine, une ville du nom de *Dicaea* qui, en égard aux distances géographiques et à la situation topographique que lui assignent Pline et les itinéraires, ne saurait être confondue avec la cité homonyme qui se trouvait en Thrace. Ce fait seul, en obligeant d'établir une distinction formelle entre les deux villes, suffirait donc pour autoriser à restituer à la cité macédonienne quelques-unes, au moins, des diverses monnaies qui portent le nom de *Dicaea* et qu'on a, jusqu'à présent, données exclusivement à *Dicaea* ou *Dicaeopolis* de *Thrace*.

Quoique je sache, par expérience, qu'il est en bien des cas fort difficile, souvent même presque impossible, de reconnaître avec sûreté, sur la seule inspection de la fabrique et quand on n'a point pour se guider l'aide précieuse d'une légende, si telle médaille a été frappée dans la *Thrace occidentale* ou si elle a été frappée dans la *Macédoine orientale* — vu l'extrême proximité des deux régions et les nombreux liens de parenté qui les unissent<sup>28</sup> — cependant, d'après quelques indices qu'on peut,

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<sup>28</sup> Les limites qui séparent la partie orientale de la Macédoine d'avec la partie occidentale de la Thrace sont si incertaines ou si peu sensibles, il y avait dans les mœurs et les coutumes des deux nations tant de points de contact, que les anciens eux-mêmes n'ont jamais bien défini ces frontières. Ainsi pour Hérodote et pour Thucydide, les Bisaltes, les Édoniens, les Odomantes sont des Thraces ; Strabon, au contraire, les place en Macédoine dans le canton de *Datos*, et les considère comme des peuples en partie autochthones, en partie originaires de la Macédoine (lib. vii. 89). S'il est vrai qu'à l'époque où vivaient Hérodote et Thucydide, ces trois peuples étaient indépendants et avaient même des rois particuliers, tels que *Gétas* chez les Édoniens, *Pollès* et *Derrhonicos* chez les Odomantes, *Mossès* chez les Bisaltes, il n'est pas moins certain, d'un autre côté, qu'à partir du règne de Philippe père d'Alexandre, ces peuples furent alors soumis et définitivement incorporés au royaume de Macédoine. Aujourd'hui on pense généralement que la vraie limite ou ligne de séparation entre les deux contrées est indiquée par le puissant massif du


jusqu'à un certain point, tirer tant du style visiblement plus soigné, que du caractère particulier des types empreints sur plusieurs de ces monnaies portant le nom de *Dicaea*, voici de quelle manière je proposerais de les classer ; au moins quant à présent.

Je laisserais à la Thrace celles qui, pareilles aux échantillons qu'en possède depuis longtemps le British Museum, sont d'un travail extrêmement rude et qui offrent les types suivants :—

1. *Obv.*—Tête d'Hercule, avec l'œil de face, une barbe cunéiforme et couverte de la peau de lion, à droite.

*Rev.*—Carré creux, profond, divisé par deux lignes diagonales qui se coupent à angle droit, de manière à former quatre compartiments en partie comblés. Style très-rude, presque barbare. *R.* mod. 5 de Mionnet ; poids 9.59 gr.—British Museum.

2. *Obv.*—Même tête d'Hercule, à droite ; même genre de travail, mais un peu moins ancien et un peu meilleur, la barbe n'est plus en forme de coin ; l'œil, cependant, est encore de face.

*Rev.*— Tête de bœuf avec le cou, à gauche ; le tout dans un carré creux. La lettre > est à peine visible. *R.* mod. 5 ; poids, 7.20 gr.—British Museum.

À la Thrace reviendraient également les monnaies que je vais décrire d'après divers auteurs, et dont les types

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*Pangée*, par les pentes occidentales des monts *Cercine* et *Bertiscus* et par le cours du *Nestus* d'un côté, de l'autre par celui du *Strymon*. C'est aussi pour cela qu'on désigne toute cette partie du pays par le nom caractéristique *Amphipolis*. C'est sur ce territoire qu'était située la ville d'*Amphipolis*, à l'embouchure même du *Strymon*, dont le cours inférieur délimitait les terres des *Odomantes* et des *Bisaltes* ; c'est là que s'arrêtent les Thraces ; tout ce qui se trouve à l'ouest de cette limite est macédonien.

semblent se rapprocher beaucoup de ceux qu'on trouve parfois à *Abdère*—

3. *Obv.*—Tête d'Apollon (?), ceinte du *strophium*, à gauche.

*Rev.*— $\frac{\propto}{\Delta}$  A Tête de bœuf, à droite, le tout dans un carré creux. *Æ. 3.* (Sestini, *Descr. di Molte Med. esistenti in più Musei*, p. 27, No. 1, Tab. v. fig. 14 ; Mionnet, tom. i. p. 384, No. 136.)

Quant à celle d'*or*, avec les mêmes types, que Sestini a rapportée (*loc. cit.*) sous le No. 2, comme faisant partie du cabinet du roi de Bavière, j'ose dire—bien que je ne l'aie point vue en nature et nonobstant les raisons qu'allègue le numismatiste italien, à l'effet d'en prouver l'authenticité—que c'est, à n'en pas douter, une pièce fausse et qu'elle a été très-probablement moulée sur l'argent. Une monnaie d'*or* en Thrace, à cette époque, serait un vrai phénomène.

4. *Obv.*—ΔΙΚ. Caput bovis cum collo, recusum suprâ testudinem Æginæ.

*Rev.*—Caput muliebre (Dianæ), recusum suprâ quadratum incusum Æginæ. *Æ. 3.* (Sestini, *Mus. Hedervar. pars Europ.*, p. 32, No. 1.)

5. *Obv.*—ΔΙΚ. Caput Arietis.

*Rev.*—ΔΙΚ. Aquila, ad d., stans retrospecticiens. *Æ. 3.* (Sestini, *loc. cit.*, p. 32, No. 2 ; Neumann, p. 11, Tab. vi. fig. 14, inter incertos.)

6. *Obv.*—Caput Cereris spicis coronatum, ad d.

*Rev.*—ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΟΛ. Bos, ad d., stans vel gradiens. *Æ. 3.* (Sestini, *Med. esist. in più Mus.*, p. 28, No. 3, Tab. v. fig. 15 ; Mionnet, *Suppl. ii.*, p. 301, No. 603.)

Je ne connais jusqu'à présent, en fait, de monnaies de ce genre qui pourraient convenir à *Dicaea de Macédoine*, que les deux petites pièces d'argent publiées jadis par Édouard de Cadalvène, sous la rubrique de *Dicaeopolis de Thrace*, et que voici—

1. *Obv.*—Tête de femme, à gauche, d'un caractère très-simple mais tout particulier, avec la chevelure relevée le long des tempes et formant une grosse touffe par derrière. Point d'ornements ni de symboles d'aucune espèce.

*Rev.*—ΔΙΚΑΙΑ en deux lignes. Tête de taureau avec de longues cornes, et vue de face; le tout dans un carré peu profond, indiqué par quatre barres.  
*R.* 2½. (Éd. de Cadalvène, *Rec. de Méd. gr.* inéd., p. 11, No. 2, Tab. i. fig. 5.)

2. *Obv.*—Même tête de femme, à gauche.

*Rev.*—Δ. Même type que ci-dessus. *R.* 1. Ibid., No. 1.

Je fonde mon opinion, d'abord, sur l'aspect général de la fabrique, laquelle est manifestement moins rude, j'ajouterai même assez soignée; en second lieu sur la forme particulièrement expressive<sup>29</sup> qu'on semble avoir eu l'intention de donner à la légende du No. 1; enfin, sur la notable modification qu'ont subis les types, tant au droit qu'au revers; indices bien légers, j'en conviens, et dont je suis loin de vouloir en exagérer la portée, mais qui n'en ont pas moins, cependant, une valeur appréciable assez grande.

Au sujet de la tête féminine qui décore le droit de ces médailles, Éd. de Cadalvène s'exprime ainsi (p. 12) :

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<sup>29</sup> Il est évident que la forme ΔΙΚΑΙΑ, même quand on sous-entendrait le mot Πόλις, ne peut désigner la ville de Thrace que Suidas et Harpocraton nomment formellement Δικαίο Πόλις et dont on attribue la fondation à Dikaeos fils de Neptune; il y a donc là, je le répète, une distinction à faire.

“Il n'est pas aisé de déterminer d'une manière positive quelle est la tête représentée sur ces médailles. J'avais cru d'abord y reconnaître celle de *Cérès*, objet de la vénération de tous les habitants de la Thrace ; et le bœuf, symbole des mystères de *Bacchus*, intimement lié au culte de cette déesse, contribuait à appuyer mon opinion ; mais il est évident que ce n'est pas là le caractère que les Grecs donnaient à la tête de *Cérès*, et il est plus naturel de croire dès lors que les habitants de *Dicé* ont voulu représenter une divinité qui leur était particulière et dont aucun des historiens parvenus jusqu'à nous n'a fait mention.”

Effectivement cette tête n'est point du tout celle de *Cérès* ; mais si Éd. de Cadalvène, avant d'écrire ce qui précède, avait pris la peine de réfléchir pendant quelques instants à l'étymologie du nom de la ville de *Dicaea*, laquelle étymologie dérive sans aucun doute du radical *Δίκη*, il se serait vite convaincu que cette tête de déesse dont il n'a pu réussir à définir le caractère, ne pouvait représenter autre chose que celle de *Dicé*, cette seconde personnification de l'idée de *justice*. Par conséquent cette tête offrirait, en propres termes, un vrai *type parlant*, un emblème on ne peut plus clairement allusif au nom de la ville ; de même aussi que la modification apportée dans la figure comme dans l'exécution de la *tête de bœuf* ou de *taureau*, imprimée au revers, rappellerait d'une manière indirecte mais suffisamment compréhensible, la part d'influence que durent nécessairement exercer dans le repeuplement ou dans la reconstruction d'*Ichnaë*, les colons ou émigrés venus de la Thrace.

Tout porte à croire—je l'ai déjà insinué plus haut mais je crois devoir le répéter—que le culte de *Thémis* dut originairement être introduit sur les bords de l'*Axius* par



la colonie crétoise dont *Botton* était le chef, et que ces peuples, en l'honorant à titre d'*Oekiste* (οἰκιστής), le considéraient comme le héros éponyme de leur race. Les traditions relatives à l'établissement de colonies crétoises dans la *Bottiéide* y ont laissé partout des traces assez sensibles et assez nombreuses pour que l'existence réelle de ces colonies ne soit point contestable; et la meilleure preuve comme aussi la plus remarquable c'est que plusieurs des villes situées dans la plaine—telles, entre autres, que *Gortynia*, *Icaris*, *Europos*, *Idomène*—portent des noms crétois; même, à en croire certains étymologistes, le nom du fleuve *Axius* (Ἀξίος) serait d'origine crétoise. Effectivement on connaît dans l'île de Crète une ville appelée *Axus* (Ἀξός)<sup>30</sup>.

En résumé, la *Bottiéide* prit-elle son nom du fabuleux *Botton* ou s'appelait-elle déjà ainsi lors de son arrivée dans le pays avec ses compagnons? question délicate et d'autant moins aisée à résoudre que l'étymologie des mots *Borria*, *Borriaia*, *Borriaüs*, *Borriké* peut s'expliquer d'une toute autre manière.

Elle peut venir de *Borós* (pâture), *Borá* (bestiaux) et faire en conséquence allusion à la fertilité du terroir, aux produits agricoles et spéciaux de la contrée, laquelle contrée était, depuis les temps les plus reculés, renommée pour l'excellence de ses pâturages et pour la riche abondance de ses troupeaux. La ville de *Pella*, cette voisine immédiate d'*Ichnae*, n'a-t-elle pas porté primitivement le nom de *Bounomia* (Βουνομεία) et le mot *βούνωμα* ne veut-il pas dire littéralement *un lieu où paissent les bœufs*?<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> À la vérité Hesychius donne à ce nom une autre étymologie. Il dit que le mot Ἀξός est macédonien et qu'il a le même sens que le mot ἔλη (bois, forêt); d'où il résulterait qu'Ἀξίος signifierait un fleuve coulant au milieu des bois.

<sup>31</sup> C'est à n'en pas douter, à cause de cette circonstance et en

Je trouverais encore une sorte de confirmation de l'hypothèse que j'ai émise au sujet de l'origine crétoise du culte de *Thémis* en Macédoine, dans les types (droit et revers) d'une rare monnaie d'argent que mon ami, M. le Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, qui l'a publiée il n'y a pas longtemps, a très-judicieusement attribuée aux *Bottidiens de la Chalcidice*—

*Obv.*—Tête de femme, à droite, ceinte d'une bandelette et les cheveux relevés en grosses nattes vers les tempes, grénétis au pourtour.

*Rev.*—**BOTTIAION**. Partie antérieure de taureau, à droite; le tout dans un carré creux. *Æ.* 3½.  
(Imhoof-Blumer, *Choix de Monnaies Grecques*. Winterthur, 1871, in fo., Pl. I. fig. 16.)

Je n'ai pas besoin, j'imagine, de faire autrement remarquer l'extrême analogie qui existe entre les types de cette rare médaille et ceux qu'on vient de voir figurer sur les deux pièces décrites par Éd. de Cadavène et que j'ai attribuées à *Dicaea* de la *Bottidiide*: cette analogie est trop frappante pour échapper à qui que ce soit; bornons-nous à la constater.

Si donc, en prenant ce point de départ et en raisonnant par voie comparative, on ne refuse pas d'admettre que la tête de femme empreinte au droit de cette monnaie est bien, comme je le pense, celle de *Thémis* ou de *Dicé*, voici alors de quelle manière on pourrait en expliquer le revers.

Le *taureau* est certainement un type, je ne dis pas exclusivement propre, du moins extrêmement fréquent, sur les monnaies de la Crète, et qui, dans cette île, se

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souvenir de l'ancien nom *Bounomia*, qu'on voit si souvent figurer sur les monnaies de *Pella* le type du bœuf debout ou paissant. Voy. Mionnet, tom. i. p. 481, Nos. 230 à 242; *Ibid.*, Suppl. iii. p. 88, Nos. 530 à 538.

rattache indubitablement à des fables locales. Le *taureau crétois* qui se trouve souvent en relation directe avec *Europe* et dans le mythe de laquelle il joue presque toujours un rôle prépondérant, aurait peut-être été adopté ici comme une symbolisation zoomorphique de *Jupiter* et renfermerait, par conséquent, une double allusion : l'une à *Thémis* en tant que *Parèdre* de *Zeus* ou à *Dicé* en tant que sa fille ; l'autre à l'origine crétoise dont se vantaient de descendre tous les *Bottiéens*, sans distinction, aussi bien ceux de l'*Ichmitide* que ceux de la *presqu'île chalcidique*.

En effet, pour peu qu'on veuille se rappeler que la population primitive de la *Bottiéide* se composait d'un mélange de *Pélasges*, de *Bryges* ou *Phryges*,<sup>32</sup> de *Piériens* et surtout de *Crétois* ; qu'une notable portion de cette population, après avoir été violemment expulsée de son territoire national par les rois de Macédoine, avait été forcée d'émigrer vers le sud où, grâce à l'aide des *Olynthiens*, elle avait fondé en *Chalcidice* un puissant établissement, on comprendra dès lors parfaitement, on devra même trouver très-naturel, que ces *Bottiéens* réfugiés aient pu choisir, de préférence, pour types de leurs nouvelles monnaies, des emblèmes qui, mieux que d'autres, pouvaient servir à leur rappeler leur ancienne et traditionnelle origine.

Quand on considère que la *Thémis Euboulia* adorée à *Ichnae*, était en même temps une divinité honorée d'un

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<sup>32</sup> Hérodote, par esprit national sans doute, considérait les *Bryges* comme les ancêtres des *Phrygiens*. Le changement de nom se serait opéré par une simple permutation du  $\beta$  avec  $\phi$ , lorsqu'une partie des *Bryges* qui habitaient primitivement la Macédoine, abandonnèrent cette contrée pour passer en Asie (Hérod., vii. 73). Strabon dit la même chose (vii. 28, excerpt. vatic.)

culte tout spécial dans la *Béotie* et que, peut-être, ce culte y avait-il été introduit par *Cadmus* au retour de ses voyages dans le nord de la Grèce à la recherche de sa sœur *Europe*, on se trouve, pour ainsi dire, forcément amené à établir, par la pensée, un rapprochement, une sorte de corrélation, tout au moins d'assonnance, entre le nom des *Bottiéens* et celui des *Béotiens*, nonobstant la divergence très-sensible que, de prime abord, ils présentent. Il n'y aurait donc rien d'impossible à ce que l'un des deux noms n'eût engendré l'autre ou qu'ils ne fussent, tous les deux à la fois, issus de la même idée symbolique : d'autant mieux que, s'il faut s'en référer à de très-anciennes légendes, les habitants de la *Béotie* auraient reçu parmi eux, à une époque très-reculée, un certain nombre de *Thraces* et d'autres colons venus de cette partie de la Macédoine.

J'ajoute à l'appui de ceci :

Si, d'un côté, le fabuleux *Botton*, héros éponyme des *Bottiéens* et dont le nom dérive probablement du mot *βόρης* ou *βορής* (*berger*), si, dis-je, *Botton* n'était dans le principe qu'une personification emblématique de la vie pastorale, en d'autres termes un de ces chefs conducteurs de troupeaux tels que la mythologie nous représente souvent les fondateurs de villes,<sup>33</sup> d'un autre côté le fils de *Neptune* et d'*Arne*, *Bocotos* (*Apol-lodon*), héros éponyme de la nation *béotienne*, avait été élevé par des pâtres, avait gardé lui-même les troupeaux avec son frère *Æolos*, et c'est encore chez des pâtres, ses anciens compagnons, qu'il vint se réfugier après le

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<sup>33</sup> Dans Homère les rois Agamemnon et Nestor sont souvent qualifiés de *pasteurs* des hommes ou des peuples. Abraham, le père de la nation hébraïque, n'était pas lui-même autre chose qu'un *pasteur*, chef de nombreux troupeaux.

meurtre de *Théano* et de ses fils, jusqu'au moment où *Neptune* lui révéla sa divine origine.

Qu'on n'oublie pas non plus que la *Béotie* avait cela de commun avec la *Bottée* ou *Bottiède*, qu'elle était réputée de longue date pour sa fertilité et pour la richesse plantureuse de ses gras pâturages. Or, c'est là encore une de ces curieuses coïncidences qui, de prime abord, pourrait sembler fortuite, mais qui, lorsqu'on y réfléchit, autorise à penser que l'étymologie des deux noms provient d'un ensemble d'idées dont le fond n'a pu être puisé qu'à une source commune. Évidemment cette étymologie dérive de la racine *βοῦς*, génitif *βοός*, et convient on ne peut mieux à des personnages que la légende nous représente comme des gardeurs de bestiaux. Entre le pâtre *Botton* et le pâtre *Bæotos*, nés tous deux d'une de ces fictions poétiques si familières au génie hellénique, il y a donc, je le répète, une analogie, une secrète affinité qu'on ne saurait se résoudre à méconnaître.

D'ailleurs, la différence qui existe entre les mots *βοτήρ* (*berger*), *βοτός* (*pâturage*), et le mot *βουρός* dont, plus tard, on a cru devoir faire, par extension, le synonyme d'*homme grossier, peu cultivé*—comme sont en général les gardeurs de bestiaux—bien que très-sensible, en apparence, est, ce semble, moins grande que celle qui existe, par exemple, entre *Πρίαμος* et *Πέργαμος*; et cependant on s'accorde à reconnaître que le nom de la citadelle d'*Ilion* (*Pergame*) dérive de celui du héros *Priam*. Suivant Hésychius, *Πρίαμος* devient, dans le dialecte *Æolien*, *Πέργαμος*. Ahrens, à ce propos, fait cette remarque: "*Cæterum ex hac Æolicâ nominis formâ apparet, Priamum non minus arcis Περγάμων eponymum esse, quem Ilium urbis, Troëm populi: Πέργαμα enim à Πρίαμα natum est í in γ mutató.*"—(Ahrens, *De Dialect. Æol.*, 8, p. 56.)

## § V.

Malgré mon ardent désir de ne point abuser de la patience de mes lecteurs,—chose qu'à mon insu j'ai déjà eu, peut-être, le malheur de faire—cependant puisque la nature même de mon sujet m'a, pour ainsi dire, forcément amené, à parler, avec quelques détails, de la *Bottiiide* et de ses habitants, je ne voudrais pas terminer ce travail sans essayer d'éclaircir une autre question numismatique qui s'y rattache on ne peut plus directement; question qui m'a plus d'une fois préoccupé mais sur laquelle je n'ai pu, jusqu'à présent, trouver le loisir ou l'occasion de m'expliquer. Cette occasion est trop belle, elle se présente ici trop naturellement, pour que je ne m'empresse pas de la saisir. Je ferai, du reste, tous mes efforts pour être bref.

J'entends parler du système de classement, selon moi très-peu logique, que la plupart des numismatistes persistent encore aujourd'hui, soit par routine, soit faute de mieux, à conserver aux diverses monnaies frappées avec le nom et pour l'usage collectif des *Bottiiens*; cela, sans faire attention ou sans vouloir tenir compte que l'ethnique<sup>34</sup> étant orthographié tantôt **BOTTIAION**, tantôt **BOTTAION**, tantôt **BOTTEATON** semble indiquer, par ces variantes mêmes, qu'il y a nécessairement, entre toutes ces monnaies, une importante distinction à établir. C'est à savoir, en d'autres termes, que si le contexte des légendes dont je parle prouve invinciblement que les monnaies qui en sont munies émanent bien toutes de la grande famille *bottienne* et non d'un autre

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<sup>34</sup> D'après Strabon l'ethnique de *Bórreia* se forme avec l'*iota* (*Borraios*), mais le nom même avait été emprunté du crétois *Botton*. (Etymolog. Magn., p. 206, c.)

peuple, en revanche la divergence notable de leurs formes orthographiques prouve aussi et non moins clairement qu'elles ne sauraient toutes appartenir exclusivement à *une seule* des diverses branches issues du tronc originel, et qu'il faut, conséquemment, en former plusieurs groupes séparés.

Je m'explique :

Lorsque dans le courant du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C., peut-être même beaucoup plus tôt, les rois déjà puissants de l'*Émathie*, jaloux d'étendre leurs premières conquêtes, furent parvenus à annexer à leurs possessions héréditaires les districts limitrophes connus sous le nom de *Piérie* et de *Bottiéide*, c'est alors que ces deux peuples, forcés d'abandonner leur sol natal et plutôt que de subir le joug ou de se mêler à leurs envahisseurs, émigrèrent en grande partie et vinrent se fixer, les premiers au delà du *Strymon* vers les pentes méridionales du mont *Pangée*, où on les retrouve plus tard;<sup>35</sup> les seconds, que des liens d'amitié unissaient depuis longtemps aux *Olynthiens*, s'établirent dans le voisinage de ces derniers, sur un petit territoire qui leur fut cédé dans la *presqu'île chalcidique* et qui, depuis, reçut, à cause de cette circonstance, le nom caractéristique de *Bottique*<sup>36</sup> (*Βοττική*) (Thucyd. *loc. cit.*) — ce nom seul de *Βοττική* — si différent de la *Borriaüs* (*Βορριαύδα*) d'Hérodote — appliqué à la colonie fondée en *Chalcidice*, suffit, ce semble, à démontrer que les *Bottiéens*

<sup>35</sup> Le canton habité par ces *Piériens réfugiés* est connu dans l'histoire et dans la géographie sous le nom de *Vallée piérique* ou encore de *Piérie de Thrace* (Thucyd. ii. 79). Il s'étendait depuis les frontières de la *Mygdonie* et de l'*Amphaxitide* jusqu'à l'embouchure du *Nestus*. C'est cette partie du littoral de Thrace près du *Strymon* (Θράκης αἰγιαλὸς παρὰ τῷ Στρυμῶνι) dont parle Hécateé (Fragm. 125), et que Tite Live, de son côté, désigne sous le nom de *Parstrymonia* (Liv., xlii. 51.)

<sup>36</sup> Καὶ Βοττικὴ ἡ Χαλκιδική. — (Etym. Magn. in Verb.)

voisins d'*Olynthe* ne sont plus du tout les mêmes que les *Bottiéens* de l'*Émathie*, bien que pourtant ces deux tribus soient originairement issues de la même famille.

Thucydide, qui connaissait parfaitement les différentes parties de la *Basse Macédoine* comme aussi de la contrée dite *thraco-macédonienne* et qui, pendant son long exil, dut trouver tant d'occasions favorables pour se bien renseigner, Thucydide n'a jamais, quand il prononce le nom des *Bottiéens*, en vue les habitants de la *Bottiéide émathienne*, mais uniquement ceux qui, près de deux siècles avant lui, avaient émigré dans la *presqu'île chalcidique*.

“Les rois de Macédoine,” dit-il (ii. 99), “chassèrent aussi de la *Bottiéide*, les *Bottiéens* qui habitent actuellement dans le voisinage des *Chalcidiens*.” Partout l'historien grec nous représente cette peuplade comme extrêmement unie avec les *Chalcidiens*, et il en donne la preuve quand il raconte : que seuls, entre les autres habitants de cette péninsule, les *Bottiéens* et les *Chalcidiens* réunis, entraînés dans l'alliance de Perdiccas, battirent à *Spartolus* les *Athéniens*, venus de *Potidée* ; leur tuèrent plus de quatre cents hommes et tous leurs généraux, après quoi ils élevèrent, en leur mutuel honneur, un trophée sur le lieu même où ils avaient combattu (ii. 79). Dans tout le cours de cette guerre, aussi bien que dans toutes celles qui suivirent plus tard, on ne voit pas qu'il soit jamais question des *Bottiéens* de l'intérieur : autre preuve que déjà à cette époque ils avaient cessé de constituer une population homogène et, *à fortiori*, un aggrégat autonome et indépendant. Si, lors de l'occupation romaine, on continua de désigner, sous l'ancien nom de *Bottiéide*, cette partie de l'*Émathie* où s'était, bien des siècles auparavant, formé le premier établissement de cette nation, ceci a



dépendu de plusieurs causes—de la tradition, d'abord, et de cette tendance naturelle qu'ont, en général, tous les peuples à s'attacher à des usages consacrés de longue date, usages qu'on abandonne difficilement et qui peuvent expliquer pourquoi, par exemple, on conserva le nom de *Mygdonie* à un district voisin de la *Bottiéide*, bien qu'en réalité il n'y eut plus de véritables *Mygdoniens*; en second lieu, parce que vers la fin de son règne, Philippe V, fils de Démétrius, pour des motifs politiques, sans doute, rappela dans cette partie de l'*Émathie*, alors dépeuplée, un certain nombre de *Bottiéens chalcidiens*, et leur y donna des terres, de préférence aux colons Gaulois encore barbares, mais sans leur concéder le droit d'autonomie, qu'ils finirent cependant par récupérer après sa mort; enfin parce qu'au moment de la nouvelle organisation provinciale décrétée par Paul Émile, il fallait bien nécessairement distinguer, les unes des autres, les diverses circonscriptions partielles de chaque région, et que le meilleur moyen d'éviter la confusion était de maintenir les principales comme les plus anciennes dénominations territoriales.

C'est pourquoi, en présence de ces données qui toutes s'appuient sur des faits historiques et géographiques d'une véracité incontestable, j'estime que pour être conforme à une stricte et rigoureuse logique, il conviendrait de distribuer les diverses monnaies dont il s'agit, en autant de groupes ou de catégories qu'il s'y produit de variantes épigraphiques et même, jusqu'à un certain point, typiques: bien que, pourtant, Eckhel, Sestini, Mionnet et tous ceux qui, avant moi, se sont occupés de cette classe de monnaies, soient demeurés unanimement d'accord pour les enregistrer, toutes sans aucune exception, sous une seule et même rubrique.

Voici donc, sous forme de catalogue descriptif, quelle serait, à mon avis, la manière la plus rationnelle de les ranger :—

### PREMIER GROUPE.

#### BOTTIÉENS DE CHALCIDICE.

Je donnerais, à cette branche de la nation *bottiéenne*, toutes les monnaies dont l'ethnique est écrit **BOTTIAION** et qui, par leurs types comme aussi par leur fabrique, rappellent beaucoup ceux de la ville d'*Olynthus*. Naturellement je placerais en tête de ces dernières, parce que c'est sans contredit le plus ancien spécimen de ce genre de monnayage, la précieuse médaille d'argent qui appartient à M. Imhoof-Blumer et dont j'ai, plus haut, donné la description—j'y renvoie le lecteur.

En second ordre, viendraient se ranger les types suivants :—

2. *Obv.*—Tête d'Apollon, aurée, à droite.

*Rev.*—**BOTTIAION**. Lyre. Æ. 3. (Mionnet, tom. i. p. 470, No. 168.)

3. *Obv.*—Tête de femme, aurée, à droite.

*Rev.*—**BOTTIAION**. Lyre. Æ. 3. (Sestini, Deser. Num. Veter., p. 99, No. 6.)

### DEUXIÈME GROUPE.

#### BOTTIÉENS DE LA THRACE ÉPICTÈTE.

1. *Obv.*—Tête d'Hercule, barbue, couverte de la peau de lion, à droite ou à gauche.

*Rev.*—**BOTTAION**. Cheval paissant, à droite. Æ. 5. (Mionnet, *loc. cit.*, No. 332.)

2. Obr.—Tête de Pallas, casquée, à droite ; le devant du casque est orné d'un quadrigé.

Rev.—**BOTTAION**. Bœuf paissant, à droite. Æl. 4½.  
(Mionnet, *loc. cit.*, No. 169.)

Outre les types et le module qui ne sont plus du tout les mêmes, la forme contractée **BOTTAION** qu'on lit sur ces deux bronzes, présente avec les autres une différence orthographique à la fois trop sensible et trop visiblement intentionnelle pour qu'on ne soit pas tenté d'en inférer que ces bronzes n'ont été frappés, ni par les *Bottiéens* de *Chalcidice*, ni par ceux de l'*Émathie*, mais par les représentants de ce troisième rameau de la même famille qui, au lieu d'émigrer dans la *presqu'île*, avait de préférence suivi les *Piériens* expulsés, et était allé se fixer dans leur voisinage au pied des dernières pentes méridionales du mont *Pangée*. En effet on sait par Pline, qu'un établissement de *Bottiéens* existait dans la *Vallée piérique*, entre le *Strymon* et le territoire des *Édoniens* : "*Odrysarum gens fundit Hebrum, adcolentibus Cabyletis . . . corpillis Bottiacis, Edonis*" (lib. IV. xviii. 11). Ces *Bottiéens* occupaient, au dessous d'*Amphipolis*, une portion du littoral qui s'étend depuis *Eion* jusqu'à *Apollonie*. Les *Piériens*, chassés comme eux de leurs foyers, et de la même race et parlant la même langue, ne pouvaient leur être hostiles ; la configuration physique de la contrée avait avec celle qu'ils abandonnaient une grande analogie, une ressemblance telle qu'elle dut singulièrement contribuer à les retenir dans ces parages. Aussi y avaient-ils fondé, de concert avec les *Piériens*, plusieurs villes assez importantes ; entre autres, *Phagrès*, *Pergamum*, et *Apollonia*. Les deux premières occupaient les deux extrémités de la *Vallée piérique* ; *Pergamum* correspond à la moderne *Pravista*, *Phagrès* à *Orfana* (Leake, iii. 177 —), quant à la troisième, *Apollonia*, la-

quelle, tout porte à le croire, paraît avoir été la ville principale des *Bottiéens* de cette région, Strabon (vii., fragm. 25) la place positivement à l'est de *Galepsus* (colonie de *Thasos*) et tout-à-fait à l'extrémité du cap qui ferme le Golfe *strymonique*; aujourd'hui cap *Kurca* ou cap *Deftéro*.— (Kiep., Karte von der Eur. Turk.)

La séparation en trois tribus distinctes que je propose d'établir entre les *Bottiéens*, ne devra pas, je pense, donner lieu à de graves objections pour peu qu'on réfléchisse ou qu'on veuille se rappeler qu'un exemple complètement analogue s'est déjà produit pour la grande famille des *Locriens*; famille qui comprend, comme chacun sait, les *Locriens-Opuntiens*, les *Locriens-Epicnémidiens*, et les *Locriens-Ozolæ* ou *Hespériens*, sans compter ceux d'Italie, appelés aussi *Locriens-Epizéphyriens*, lesquels signent tous **ΛΟΚΡΩΝ**. Puisque nous possédons la preuve matérielle que les *Bottiéens* de la *Chalcidice* et que les *Bottiéens* de l'*Émathie* ont émis des monnaies en leur nom collectif, pourra-t-on logiquement admettre, si l'on raisonne par comparaison, que les *Bottiéens* de la *Thrace-Epictète* aient pu être les seuls qui se soient volontairement abstenus d'en frapper? C'est-là, du reste, une manière de voir toute personnelle, que je livre à l'appréciation des connaisseurs et qu'on est libre de prendre ou de ne point prendre en considération.

### TROISIÈME GROUPE.

#### BOTTIÉENS DE L'ÉMATHIE.

À ceux-là j'attribuerais toutes les monnaies, sans exception, qui portent l'ethnique écrit **BOTTEATΩΝ**. Outre qu'il existait dans ce district une ville spécialement

nommée *Bottea* (*Borréa*),<sup>37</sup> d'où, évidemment, est issu le mot **BOTTEATΩN**, outre, dis-je, que cette forme orthographique paraît être la plus récente des trois et n'a pu, selon moi, avoir été adoptée qu'après la mort de Philippe V, par ceux d'entre les *Bottiéens* qu'il avait rappelés dans ce canton de l'*Émathie*, alors dépeuplé, quelques-unes de ces monnaies semblent visiblement copiées sur celles de ce prince ou de son fils Persée, en même temps que plusieurs autres se rapprochent beaucoup pour la fabrique et pour les types, des monnaies particulièrement propres à la ville de *Pella*, capitale de toute la province.

J'attribuerais pareillement à cette même branche de la nation *bottiéenne*, les monnaies de cuivre qui, avec des types variés et à la place du nom écrit en entier, portent seulement le monogramme, **Β.** (**BOT.**); ces dernières n'ont pu, à mon avis, être frappées que dans l'*Émathie* et pendant la première période de la conquête romaine sous Paul Émile, parce que, à ce moment de la décadence presque complète des libertés municipales, ni les *Bottiéens* de *Chalcidice* ni ceux de la *Vallée piérique* ne comptaient plus, depuis longtemps déjà, comme aggrégat national séparé et indépendant. Si Paul Émile laissa, pour quelque temps, aux *Bottiéens* de l'*Émathie*, un semblant d'autonomie plutôt nominal que réel au fond, ce fut de sa part pure condescendance et afin de ne point trop froisser—surtout au

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<sup>37</sup> *Βοττεία πόλις Μακεδονίας, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἐπιλοῦ Βοττεία.*—Etym. Magn., 206. Cette ville, *Bottéa*, voisine d'*Alorus* et dont on aurait, paraît-il, retrouvé l'emplacement, était située près du village qu'on nomme aujourd'hui *Kopso-chori*. Si, comme il est plus que probable, l'appellation *Βοττεία* a engendré l'ethnique **BOTTEATΩN**, on peut admettre avec beaucoup de vraisemblance que c'est dans cette ville qu'était établi l'atelier central du monnayage des *Bottiéens* de l'*Émathie*.

début de l'occupation—l'esprit encore rebelle de ces populations. Mais cette concession illusoire leur fut bientôt enlevée, lorsqu'à la suite de la seconde conquête provoquée par la révolte du *pseudo-Philippe* surnommé *Andriscus*, la province macédonienne, qui, jusque là n'avait été que simple tributaire, fut définitivement annexée aux possessions romaines et désormais régie par des Questeurs ou par des Propréteurs.

Voici les principaux types de cette classe de monnaies dont les échantillons ne sont point rares, et existent dans toutes les collections un peu importantes.

1. *Obv.*—Bouclier macédonien, orné, au centre, d'une rosace.

*Rev.*—**BOTTEATΩN**. Écrit sur la proue d'un navire ; au dessus et au dessous symboles et signes graphiques qui varient. *Æ.* 3. (Mionnet, tom. i. No. 167, Suppl. iii. 329.)

2. *Obv.*—Tête de Pallas, casquée, à droite.

*Rev.*—**BOTTEATΩN**. Bœuf paissant, à droite. *Æ.* 5½. (Ibid., No. 170.)

3. *Obv.*—Tête d'Apollon (?), nue, à droite.

*Rev.*—**BOTTEATΩN**. Même type, à droite. *Æ.* 4½. (Fr. Lenormant, *Rev. Numism.*, 1852, Pl. x. No. 3.)

4. *Obv.*—Tête de Mercure, couverte du pétase, à droite.

*Rev.*—**BOTTEATΩN**. Cheval paissant, à droite. *Æ.* 5. (Mionnet, *loc. cit.*, No. 333.)

5. *Obv.*—Tête laurée de Jupiter, à droite.

*Rev.*—**MAKEΔONΩN**. Foudre et le monogr. **Β** (**BOT**). *Æ.* 4½. (Ibid., Suppl. iii. No. 6.)

6. *Obv.*—Tête de femme, laurée, à droite.

*Rev.*—**MAKEΔONΩN**. Foudre ailé ; dessous le monogramme **Β**. *Æ.* 6. (Ibid., Suppl., No. 31.)

7. *Obv.*—Bouclier macédonien.

*Rev.*—**MAKEΔONΩN**. Casque et même monogramme.  
Æ. 3. (Ibid., No. 11.)

8. *Obv.*—Tête d'Hercule, couverte de la peau de lion, à droite.

*Rev.*—**MAK**. Homme nu, à cheval, à droite, la main droite levée ; dans le champ, le monogramme **B**.  
Æ. 4½. (Ibid., No. 63.)

9. *Obv.*—Tête de Silène, à droite, avec une peau de panthère autour du cou et le *pedum* sur l'épaule gauche.

*Rev.*—Deux chèvres couchées à côté l'une de l'autre ; au dessus, le monogramme **B** ; le tout dans une couronne d'épis. Æ. 5. (Ibid., Rois de Macéd., No. 912 ; Suppl. iii., Nos. 334 et 335.)

10. *Obv.*—Tête casquée de Pallas, à droite.

*Rev.*—**ΓΑΙΟΥ . ΤΑΜΙΟΥ**. Bœuf marchant, à droite ; dessus, le monogramme **B**, et les lettres **ΠΥ**.  
Æ. 4. (Ibid., No. 337.)

## § VI.

Qu'on me permette encore une dernière observation et je termine.

Dans un article, fort intéressant d'ailleurs, que M. François Lenormant a publié, sur ce même sujet, il y a déjà de longues années (*Revue Numism.*, 1852, p. 317 *et seq.*), ce savant a émis, un peu trop légèrement peut-être, plusieurs propositions dont les termes m'ont semblé—en les relisant ces jours passés—laisser beaucoup à désirer sous le rapport de l'exactitude et sur lesquelles, dès lors, il importe d'autant plus de revenir que l'autorité justement méritée qui s'attache à son nom pourrait, à elle seule, contribuer à troubler ou à égarer d'autres numismatistes moins expérimentés que lui ou qui n'auraient point encore suffisamment étudié la matière. La recherche de

la vérité étant, avant toutes choses, le but que nous devons tous nous proposer, tant que nous sommes, j'ose espérer qu'en raison de ce motif M. Fr. Lenormant voudra bien ne point prendre ces observations en mauvaise part, et qu'il n'y verra, de mon fait, aucune intention hostile ni la moindre arrière-pensée de critique malveillante.

1°. "Nous ne connaissons pas," dit-il (p. 324) "de monnaies primitives avec le nom des *Bottiéens*."

Si M. Fr. Lenormant n'avait voulu uniquement parler que des *Bottiéens* de l'*Émathie*, je serais entièrement de son avis ; mais comme le savant auteur ne semble établir aucune espèce de différence entre toutes ces monnaies, qu'il les englobe toutes sous une seule et même rubrique, quelle que soit la nature de leurs types ou la teneur de leurs inscriptions, il s'ensuit que sa proposition devient inacceptable et qu'elle se trouve virtuellement renversée par le seul fait de l'existence de la médaille d'argent qu'a éditée M. Imhoof ; car cette médaille—tous ses caractères de fabrique l'annoncent—prouve justement et on ne peut plus clairement tout le contraire de ce qu'a supposé M. Fr. Lenormant.

2°. Un peu plus loin, il ajoute (p. 325) : "Après ces deux pièces, viennent se ranger dans l'ordre chronologique, les *médaillles d'argent* portant au droit le bouclier macédonien et au revers une proue de navire avec la légende **BOTTIAION** ou **BOTTEATON**."

Je sais fort bien que ces deux formes se rencontrent indistinctement sur les *monnaies de cuivre* frappées par les *Bottiéens*, et c'est précisément parce que cette différence sensible d'orthographe dans le même nom et, à ce qu'il semble, pour la même époque, m'a paru avoir en soi quelque chose de particulièrement significatif, que j'ai été conduit à proposer de séparer ces monnaies en plusieurs



catégories. Mais quant à ce qui regarde les petites pièces d'*argent* portant le bouclier macédonien et la proue de navire, je nie absolument qu'on y ait jamais constaté la forme **BOTTIAION** : c'est toujours et invariablement **BOTTEATON**. Si M. Fr. Lenormant en a vu quelque-une de l'espèce dont il parle, il a été plus favorisé que moi et que bien d'autres ; en tous cas j'aurais fort souhaité, je l'avoue, de savoir dans quel musée, public ou privé, de pareilles pièces se conservent ou par qui elles ont été rapportées. Si cependant il en existait réellement —ce dont je doute—je conviens que ma théorie se trouverait pour le coup fortement compromise. En attendant qu'on me montre que je me suis trompé, je maintiendrai mes conclusions.

3°. M. Fr. Lenormant dit encore à la page 326 : “ De ce qui précède, il résulte clairement que la peuplade des *Bottiéens*, profitant de sa position dans les montagnes auprès des frontières de la Thrace, dans un pays difficile à soumettre, commença à battre monnaie au moment de la décadence du pouvoir macédonien, soit en mettant son nom en entier sur ses pièces, soit en se bornant à y mettre son monogramme dans l'endroit le plus apparent.”

Si courte que soit cette phrase, elle contient cependant—j'ai regret d'avoir à le dire—deux erreurs matérielles qu'il est utile de ne point laisser s'accréditer.

Premièrement, la médaille de M. Imhoof prouve avec évidence—je l'ai montré tout à l'heure—que non-seulement les *Bottiéens* n'ont pas commencé à battre monnaie qu'au moment de la décadence du pouvoir macédonien, mais que leur nom se lit déjà sur des pièces qui, par leurs caractères de fabrique, indiquent clairement qu'elles ne sauraient avoir été émises plus tard que vers la fin du cinquième ou au commencement du quatrième siècle

avant J.-C. Effectivement, l'emploi du carré creux qui se maintient encore pendant le règne d'Amyntas, aïeul d'Alexandre le Grand, disparaît complètement après sa mort (336<sup>av.</sup>) avant J.-C. C'est à partir de cette époque, que les anciennes méthodes de fabrication sont définitivement mises de côté pour faire place à des procédés mécaniques nouveaux, et plus en rapport avec le progrès de l'art.

Secondement je me demande—et M. Fr. Lenormant aurait bien dû nous apprendre—dans quel auteur ancien, historien ou géographe, il a vu ou lu que les *Bottiéens*, pas plus ceux de l'*Émathie* que ceux de la *Chalcidice* ou de la *Vallée piérique*, constituassent une peuplade de *montagnards* et que la configuration du pays où ils étaient établis les rendît, par cela même, *difficiles à soumettre*.

Qu'on prenne une carte de la Macédoine, qu'on y suive attentivement les indications qu'elle fournit tant sur les diverses circonscriptions territoriales de cette province que sur celles qui l'avoisinent, on verra de suite que le district appelé proprement *Bottiéide* (*Borruais*) par les anciens, était compris dans l'*Émathie*; que le district nommé *Bottique* (*Borrukē*) par Thucydide, occupait un étroit territoire presque à l'entrée du Golfe thermaïque et que, si on excepte le très-petit nombre des *Bottiéens* fixés auprès d'*Amphipolis*, tout le reste de la nation, partagé en deux branches, habitait, chacune, une contrée relativement très-éloignée des frontières de la Thrace; même quand on voudrait faire commencer ces frontières en deçà du pays des *Bisaltes* ou de celui des *Odomantes*.

Si, d'un autre côté, on interroge les résultats obtenus par ceux des voyageurs modernes qui ont, de leur personne, visité la contrée et qui en ont relevé avec soin la topographie, ces voyageurs nous apprendront que bien

loin d'être une de ces régions montagneuses où un peuple jaloux de son indépendance peut, durant un certain temps, se tenir à l'abri et prolonger sa défense, c'est au contraire un pays entièrement plat, de peu d'étendue mais remarquable par son extrême fertilité, en un mot un pays que les rois de Macédoine, qui avaient tout intérêt à s'en emparer, ont dû soumettre sans peine et aussitôt qu'ils l'ont voulu. Resserrée entre trois fleuves, le *Lydias*, l'*Axius*, et l'*Haliacmon*, qui l'arrosent ou plutôt qui l'inondent périodiquement, cette étroite bande de terre où fut l'antique berceau de la nation *bottiénne*, ne présente partout que des plaines bien cultivées ou de riches pâturages, et c'est ce qui explique comment il se fait que les descendants des *Téménides* avaient choisi spécialement ce canton pour y établir le centre de leurs nombreux haras : chose qui, évidemment, eût été impraticable dans un pays de montagnes.

Bien que, selon moi, il soit peu probable que, sous la domination immédiate des anciens rois de Macédoine, les *Bottiéens* de l'*Émathie* aient eu le droit de frapper monnaie en leur nom collectif, ceci cependant n'empêche pas d'admettre que quelques villes—ainsi qu'on le voit pour *Ichnae*—n'aient pu, exceptionnellement, jouir, à titre de privilège municipal, de la libre faculté d'en émettre à leur nom particulier.

C'est ce que je me réserve de montrer dans un prochain article.

H. FERDINAND BOMPOIS.

## XII.

### NOTES ON THE ANNALS OF THE SCOTTISH COINAGE.

#### No. VII.

1603. QUEEN ELIZABETH died on the 24th of March, 1603, and James the Sixth of Scotland was proclaimed First of England in the course of the same day.

On the 8th of April, 1603, a proclamation was issued<sup>1</sup> by the king making the six-pound gold piece of Scotland current in England for ten shillings, and the merk piece for thirteen pence halfpenny.

1604. On the 10th of September of the following year, Napier of Merchiston, general of the mint in Scotland, came up to London to confer regarding the coinage, and, according to Birrel, "the witt and knowlege of the general wes wondered at be the Englishmen."<sup>2</sup> At Whitehall, on the 15th of November, a special grant of ratification of privileges was made in favour of the officers of his Majesty's mint in Scotland. In this reference is made to a confirmation of privileges granted by James V.<sup>3</sup> on the 23rd of October, in the thirtieth year of his reign, and to two others by James VI., under the Privy

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<sup>1</sup> Ruding, vol. i. p. 360.

<sup>2</sup> "Fragments" (Dalzell), 1798, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> "Acts," vol. iv. p. 488.

seal, one on the 25th of June, 1579, and the other on 22nd April, 1584. On the same day an act of Privy Council about the silver coin for Scotland was passed,<sup>4</sup> and on the 16th November a contract was made with Thomas Achesoune regarding the coinage of Scotland.

The original of this contract has long been missing, nor is there any record of it in the minutes of the Privy Council. Very fortunately, however, a copy has been recently discovered among the Hopetoun Papers; and it is now certain that a most important addition must be made to the Scottish series. It has always been hitherto supposed that the Scottish coinages after James's accession to the English throne differed from the English in having the Scottish arms in two quarters of the shield; but this discovery shows that till the close of 1609 there was no difference between the coins minted in Scotland and England, save the mint mark and the thistle on the horse trappings of the silver crown and half-crown.

The contract was entered into on the 16th of November, 1604, and sets forth that the king, with the advice of his Privy Council of England, and of the Estates and Council of Scotland, considering that the reduction of the gold and silver coinage of both countries to a perfect equality is an essential preparation for the union of the kingdoms, ordered gold to be coined of the fineness of twenty-two carats and the silver of eleven deniers. Five sorts of gold coins were ordered to be struck, viz.: the unit,<sup>5</sup> at £12 Scots each; the double-crown, at £6 Scots each; the Britain crown, at £3 Scots each; the thistle crown, at 48s. Scots each; and the half-crown, at 30s.

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<sup>4</sup> P. C. R., Mar. 5 and June 16, 1612.

<sup>5</sup> 37½ units to weigh 12 oz. 5 den. 9 grs. 18 primes Scots, or 12 oz. English.

Scots each. Two grains of remedy of weight were to be allowed on the two larger pieces, and one grain on the smaller pieces. Out of every 20lb. of gold coined, one pound at least was to be issued in the small gold pieces. The type is minutely described. On the reverse there was to be "his Maiesties armes in anc new forme of schield quarterlic. To witt, in the first quarter thrie floure de lycess croce with thrie libbertis croce, *and in the croce quarter als makill*, with anc lyoun in anc doubill Tressour in the uthar quarter, and the harpe in the ffourt quarter" . . . . The various legends for each piece are also given, and there is to be "ane littil thrissell at the beginning of the said circumscriptiones of ilk peice of the said gold respective abone written on athir syde."

The silver coinage was to be issued in seven pieces, viz. : the crown (or £3 Scots piece), half-crown, shilling, sixpence, twopenny, penny, and halfpenny pieces, with the usual remedies of weight and fineness. The type is in all respects similar to the English, save that on the crown and half-crown there is to be "ane littill thrissell in ane cheild on his hors's hip," and that there is to be a thistle at the beginning of the legend in each piece, save the halfpenny, which had no legend.

On the 16th November a proclamation<sup>6</sup> was made narrating the inconvenience which had arisen from the proclamation of the 8th of April, 1603, and authorising the new coinage of gold and silver to be current throughout Great Britain.

The former six-pound and three-pound gold pieces, and the merk and other silver coins of that series, were minted up to the close of this year, though they are

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<sup>6</sup> Ruding, vol. i. p. 362.

of rare occurrence, and were probably issued in small quantities.

1605. The new coinage began at the Scottish Mint in 1605, the warrant being dated at Whitehall on the 13th February.<sup>7</sup> Registers of the amounts for that month are preserved, and have been noticed by Lindsay.<sup>8</sup> The proclamation authorising the new money was made at Edinburgh, according to Birrell,<sup>9</sup> on the 4th of March, 1605.

1609. It was not till 1609 that the shield and arms on the reverse was altered so that the arms of Scotland occupied two quarters instead of one, and warrant was given in December<sup>10</sup> of that year to the graver of the irons to sink new dies with this reverse, though in every other respect the coins both of gold and silver were to remain as they had been before; and the officers of the mint were ordered to make all future coinages according to the new impression. The series of gold and silver coins minted between 1605 and 1610 were exactly the same both in England and Scotland, except the mint marks and the difference in workmanship, the Scottish dies being engraved by Foullis.

1610. On the 16th of January Sir John Arnot appeared before the Lords of Privy Council<sup>11</sup> and acknowledged the receipt of a piece of standard gold and three pieces of coined gold from the mint in London, to be used for comparison with the gold coins in Scotland.

This was followed in June by an Act of Privy Council<sup>12</sup> regarding a complaint which had been made to them by

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<sup>7</sup> P. C. R., 23rd June, 1610.

<sup>9</sup> Diary, p. 63.

<sup>11</sup> P. C. R., f. 217.

<sup>8</sup> Sup., p. 60.

<sup>10</sup> P. C. R., f. 160.

<sup>12</sup> P. C. R., f. 226.

John Acheson, General of the Mint, Thomas Achesoun, master coiner, and the other officers, setting forth that the late Sir Archibald Napier of Edinbillie was made general of the mint in 1576 by a gift under the Privy seal, and that he died on the 15th of May, 1608. During that time considerable coinages in all the metals had taken place, the warrants for which were in his custody at the time of his decease. The acts are particularly specified, and many of them have since been lost. Besides the acts, it is stated that he at sundry times borrowed from the Cunzie house letters of exemptions and grants of privileges made by his Majesty and his predecessors, and certain weights and balances which properly belonged to the officers of the mint. All these his representatives refused to deliver up. They were accordingly summoned before the Privy Council, and having appeared, they delivered up thirty-seven acts, warrants, and letters relating to the Cunzie house, and promised to hand over the other articles to the Treasurer.

1611. Thomas Achesoun died about this time, and on the 23rd May, 1611, George Foullis was appointed master coiner in his place. As there was no alteration in the coinage the Lords of Council directed him to enter on his duties, and conform to the contract made with Achesoun till a new contract could be drawn up.

All the gold coins were raised about one-tenth in value by a proclamation made on the 26th November,<sup>13</sup> and all former acts against exporting coin were renewed. This raising of the value of the gold coins took place also in England a day or two earlier.<sup>14</sup>

1612. The Privy Council,<sup>15</sup> on the 16th of January,

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<sup>13</sup> P. C. R., f. 81. <sup>14</sup> Ruding, vol. i. p. 367. <sup>15</sup> P. C. R., f. 88.



directed that the price per ounce for gold of 22 carats fine, paid at the mint, was to be at the rate of 32s. 1½*d.* per denier, and that a table of prices for gold of every other standard was to be prepared, and fixed in some public part of the Cunzie house. The silver was to remain as it was settled by the act of 15th November, 1604. Foreign money was only to be received as bullion, and the officers of the mint were to regulate their accounts by the prices now fixed, though in other respects they were to adhere to the terms of the former contract with Thomas Achesoun.

The rates of seignorage were altered by the Privy Council on March 5.<sup>16</sup> For the future the coinage of each stone weight (Scots) of silver was to be £25 6s. 8*d.* (Scots), and for each ounce of gold 19s. 8*d.* (Scots). The seignorage before this date had been £10 6s. 8*d.* (Scots) on each stone, and 13s. (Scots) on each ounce of gold, and for these rates only Foullis and his heirs were to be held accountable.

An Act of the Scottish Parliament in October<sup>17</sup> confirmed and ratified all the privileges, exemptions, and liberties formerly granted by the king on the 15th of November, 1604, and at present enjoyed by the officers of the mint.

On the 22nd December an Act of Privy Council<sup>18</sup> prohibited any one from passing foreign coin as currency, and ordered it to be brought to the mint, where it would be paid for at the rates already set forth.

1613. On the 17th of March commission was granted by the Privy Council to open the Pix, with the assays from 1605 to the date of the commission, and, after having made the necessary trials, to report the result. A warrant was granted on the 20th of May to the master coiner to print

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<sup>16</sup> P. C. R., f. 98.

<sup>17</sup> Vol. iv. p. 488, c. 24.

<sup>18</sup> P. C. R., f. 146.

all the clippings which had been found in the unlawful possession of Walter Geddes of St. Andrew's, and on the same day an act was passed forbidding the currency of any copper coins within the realm, except what passed by special warrants and authority from the king, with the advice and consent of the Estates and Council, and also interdicting the importation of any foreign copper coins into the country.

In this year farthing tokens were made current in England on the 19th of May,<sup>19</sup> and on the 27th a proposal to coin 10,000 stone weight of copper into tokens for circulation in Scotland was laid before the Privy Council. The proposer, whose name is not mentioned, offered £42 for the licence and privilege. This overture having been carefully and "at gute lenthe" considered, the Lords "all in one voice ffindes that the coyneing of suche ane quantitie of copper upoun the conditionis and offer specifiet in the said Lettres will infer far greitar hurte preiudice and Inconvenient to the commonnweele nor ony proffit or commoditie that may thairvpoun result. . . ."<sup>20</sup>

The Lords then recommended that 200 stone weight of copper be coined into 2*d*. pieces without profit, and direct a missive to this effect to be sent to the king.

The report of the commissioners appointed for the trial of the Pix was given in on the 10th of June.<sup>21</sup> They had made trial of the assays, compared them with the registers, and found them correct. They tested the standard of the gold minted by the late Thomas Achesoune from 13th February, 1605, to 6th January, 1610, and found it correct, as well as all the silver coinages from 12th February, 1605, to 22nd June, 1611. The assays of the

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<sup>19</sup> Ruding, vol. i. p. 369.    <sup>20</sup> P. C. R., f. 181.    <sup>21</sup> P. C. R., 184.

present master, George Foullis, from that time to the date of the trial were also tested and found correct. The assays were then delivered to John Acheson, General of the Mint, and the various officials were formally exonerated by the Privy Council from all further liability in respect of these coinages.

Foreign money seems still to have been in the country, for on the 15th of June another proclamation was issued by the Privy Council raising the price at the mint for every denier of the old English gold to 35s., and in similar proportions for all the gold and silver money then current.

1614. In the beginning of the next year a new coinage of copper was authorised. The Privy Council, on the 1st of March, granted a warrant to Charles Dickesone, sinker of the irons, to engrave matrices for twopenny and penny pieces, having on the one side three thistles on a stalk, with IACOBVS. DEI GRA. MAG. BRIT., and on the other a lion crowned with FRANCIE ET HIBERNIE. REX. The twopenny piece was distinguished from the penny, in type, by having on the reverse two points behind the lion instead of one, as on the penny. From the warrant we learn that 300 stone weight of copper was to be minted in these pieces, and that twelve and a half of the twopenny pieces were to be in the ounce,<sup>22</sup> with the usual remedies. No one was to be obliged to take more than 6*d.* in each pound of these copper coins; and in every stone of copper passing the irons there was to be 11*lb.* of penny pieces.

These are the coins figured in Wingate, pl. 39, figs. 9 and 11. It will be seen that these coins are quite different from the later issue (Wingate, pl. 39, fig. 10), which differ both in legend and weight.

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<sup>22</sup> This would make each 37·8 grains Troy.

An Act of Privy Council, of date the 6th of April, confirmed all acts formerly passed for bringing in bullion, and especially one of the reign of James IV., and commanded all merchants indebted in bullion to pay their dues within thirty days after the passing of the act, or failing payment to be charged double rates.

The great want of small money was still very severely felt in the country, and on the 17th of May the Lords authorised two hundred stone weight of copper to be coined, in addition to the three hundred already ordered.

1618. Another act about the bullion was passed by the Privy Council on the 31st March, ordering all who were indebted to make payment within ten days, or in default to be charged at a double rate.

1619. On the 9th of March, 1619, the circulation of all foreign coins was prohibited. They were to be brought to the mint and paid for as bullion, at the rate of £39 3s. 5d. (Scots) for every ounce of twenty-two carat gold, and 58/10½ for every ounce of 11d. fine silver. It was also declared illegal to export any coin.

In consequence of some doubt as to the currency of the old money, it was explained by another proclamation on the 11th, that this was to be current at the same rate as formerly, and the new English gold coin, the spur royal, was not to have course in Scotland. Later in this year,<sup>23</sup> in November, another proclamation regulated the prices at which various gold pieces current in Great Britain were to be current.

1622. In this year a grant of all the fines and penalties recovered from those illegally transporting money was given to Sir G. Bruce by the king.

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<sup>23</sup> Ruding, vol. i. p. 375.

1623. On the 5th of August a proclamation was made authorising a new coinage of copper.

Five hundred stone weight of that metal was to be minted in 2*d.* and 1*d.* pieces, similar in type to the coinage of 1614, but with the contracted legend on the reverse, FRAN. ET HIB. REX, and of less weight, as sixteen of the 2*d.* pieces were to make an ounce.<sup>24</sup> The other regulations for this coinage were similar to those of 1614.

Lest there might be any scarcity of metal, an act was passed on the same day forbidding anyone to export old copper till after Christmas.

TABLE OF THE GOLD COINS OF JAMES VI.

(After Accession).

Date of First Issue.	Coin.	Reference.	Weight in Grains.	Value in Scots.	Purity.	
1605	Unit.	As Ruding, xi. figs. 5, 6, 7, but with thistle m.m. and "&" instead of ET.	37½ units were to be in the lb. Troy English.	£ s. d.		This coinage has hitherto been given to the English series; but the dios were engraved and the coins minted in Scotland. Out of every 20 lb. of gold 1 lb. was to be issued in the small coins. The mintmark is invariably the thistle.
	Double crown.			12 0 0	22 cts.	
	Britain crown.			6 0 0	"	
	Thistle crown.			3 0 0	"	
	Half crown.			0 48 0	"	
1610	Unit.	Wingate, Pl. 39, fig. 1. Ruding, vi. 2. Wingate, Pl. 39, fig. 3. Wingate, Pl. 39, fig. 2.				The type of the reverse of these coins was changed this year, and the arms of Scotland put in two quarters of the shield. In every other particular they were exactly as above.
	Double crown.					
	Britain crown.					
	Thistle crown.					
	Half crown.					

<sup>24</sup> The twopenny piece would be 29·58 grains Troy.

TABLE OF THE SILVER COINS OF JAMES VI.

(After Accession).

Date. of First Issue.	Coin.	Reference.	Weight in Grains.	Value in Scots.	Purity.	
				s. d.	den.	
1605	Crown.	Type and legend exactly the same as English coinage of same date, but with	12 $\frac{3}{4}$	60 0	11	These have hitherto been supposed to belong to the English series, but it is now certain they were minted in Scotland. No legend on the halfpenny.
	Half do.	thistle m.m. ;	crowns to be in the	30 0	"	
	Shilling.	thistle on	English	12 * 0	"	
	Sixpence.	horse	lb.	6 0	"	
	Twopenny.	trap-pings and	Troy.	2 0	"	
	Penny.	" & " instead of ET.		1 0	"	
	Half do.			0 6	"	
1610	Crown.	Car., Pl. 11, fig. 1.	"	"		This coinage was exactly the same as the above, but with the arms of Scotland in two quarters of the shield.
	Half do.	Do., fig. 2.	"	"		
	Shilling.	Do., fig. 3.	"	"		
	Sixpence.	Do., fig. 5.	"	"		

TABLE OF THE COPPER COINS OF JAMES VI.

(After Accession).

Date of Issue.	Coin.	Reference.	Weight in Grains.	Value in Scots.		
1614	Twopenny piece.	Wingate, Pl. 39, figs. 9,	37·8	2	cop-	<div> <div>These were to have FRAN- CIE ET HI- BERNLEREX on reverse. Only 300 stone weight to be coined, and no one to be compelled to take more than 6<i>z</i>. in each £ in copper coins.</div> </div>
„	Pennypiece.	11.	18·9	1	per. „	
1623	Twopenny piece.	Wingate, Pl. 39, fig. 10.	29·53	2	„	<div> <div>These, though the same type, may be known from the earlier issue by the weight and the legend on the reverse FRAN- ET . HIB . REX.</div> </div>
	Pennypiece.	„	14·76	1	„	

Charles I. was proclaimed King on the 28th of March, 1625.

1625. On the 1st of April, 1625, a warrant was granted to Charles Dickensoun to sink the dies for the seals and the irons of the coin house, "after that same former ordour and impressioun as his maiesties dearest Lord and father's seales and yryns wer with alteration and change of his maiestie's name and portrait allanerlie;" which was again confirmed on the 6th of the same month. He was paid £450 for these dies, as appears from his receipt, still preserved in the Register House.

This was followed on the 15th by another warrant, ordering the officials of the mint to proceed with the coinage of the following gold coins, viz.: Unit (or double angel), the double crown (or angel), the Britain crown (or three pound piece, called the five merk piece), the thistle crown (called the four merk piece), and the half-crown (or two and a half-merk piece). In silver the following coins were ordered, viz.: the silver crown (or three pound piece), the thirty shilling piece (or half-crown), the twelve shilling piece (or shilling), the six shilling piece (or sixpence), the (Scots) two shilling, and one shilling, and half-shilling piece in silver; and in copper the two penny and one penny piece. All these were to be of the same fineness and weight as formerly.

In August, Nicolas Briot presented to the King and the Lords of his Council a "short and summarie advice"<sup>25</sup> regarding certain propositions made to the King for weakening and abating his coin. It is not certain from anything in the manuscript whether this advice was intended to apply solely to Scotland, or equally to England;

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<sup>25</sup> Mis. MSS. Reg. Ho., Edin.

but from the original being preserved in Edinburgh it was probably meant to apply to the Scottish coinage. The petitioner asks His Majesty to depute and ordain commissioners to hear him. There is no record of any further action taken at this time, but in October a letter was directed by the King to the Privy Council,<sup>26</sup> requiring them to take some steps to restrain the export of money, and pointing out various methods for doing this.

In the next Parliament<sup>27</sup> it was remitted to certain commissioners, to meet with the Lords of Council, and confer regarding the heightening of the money, and to report the result of their deliberations to the King.

No further step is recorded at this time, and shortly afterwards nearly the same procedure was again gone through; with no better result.

The acts against exporting the coinage were re-enacted on the 2nd of November, and on the same day certain commissioners were appointed to meet and confer regarding the best means of raising the value of the money.

1626. The meetings of this commission were adjourned on the 30th of November, 1626, to the last day of the following January. In the meantime, on the 12th of December, a Flemish ship with a cargo of supposed silver ore was captured and brought into the port of Leith, and the master of the mint was directed to proceed there and make a trial of the ore. His report was rendered on the 14th of December, to the effect that no kind of metal was contained in the supposed ore.

1627. A further adjournment of the commission anent the coin was made on the 25th of January, 1627, and the 14th of March was fixed for their meeting. What took

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<sup>26</sup> "Scots Acts," vol. v. p. 178.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. p. 184.



place then is not recorded; but on the 14th of June Archibald Lord Napier produced before the Privy Council a letter from the King, directing the Council to confer with the bearer regarding the abuses of the coin, upon which it was agreed to summon all the counsellors and also the members of the former commission to meet on the 16th, and to confer and reason on the subject.

The meeting was accordingly held on the day appointed, and it was agreed not to raise the course of the money, nor to restrain the course of foreign dollars till a more fitting opportunity.

John Acheson, General of His Majesty's Coin-house, gave in, on the 20th of December, to the Lords of the Privy Council an information regarding the state of the money within the realm. In this he showed that the best money was exported by the merchants, and the worst imported, viz., a kind of dollar called the dog dollar, only 9 deniers fine, which, though not worth more than 40/, yet passed for 48/. The Lords ordered this matter to be considered on the 10th of January, on which day a committee was appointed to give in a report. This was followed by a proclamation forbidding the importation of any more of these dollars, and reducing the value of those in the country to 46/ each.

1628. Another proclamation was made on the 23rd of December, 1628, prohibiting the dollars of Ferdinand II. to have course in the country. Several meetings of the officers of the mint and the commissioners appointed to look into the matter of the coinage took place about this period, and eventually it was agreed that the rex and lion dollars should be current, and that some other sorts were to be assayed at the mint, and their fineness ascertained before any determination was come to.

1629. On the 15th of April, 1629, it was ordered that 500 stone weight of pure copper should be issued in two-penny and penny pieces of the same weight and type as the coinage of August, 1623, save only the name CAROLVS instead of IACOBVS; and it was further ordered, that the export of copper be restrained in the meantime; and some repairs in the machinery and buildings of the mint were ordered to be made.

1630. On February the 8th a letter from the King to the Council was read, directing their attention to the course of foreign coin, and requiring them to take measures for remedying this abuse. The consideration of this letter was delayed to the 23rd inst.,<sup>28</sup> when certain commissioners were appointed to confer with the master of the mint and some of the leading merchants regarding the evils complained of.

John Acheson, General of the Mint, appeared in person before the Lords of Council on the 18th November, and gave in an overture regarding the coinage. In this paper he maintained that all the abuses complained about arose from foreign coins being current by the piece and not by weight and fineness only, as they used to be in the time of James VI. He proposed to remedy this by reducing all the foreign coins then current in Scotland below the fineness of the rex dollar to small money of base alloy; while the rex dollars and other pieces of similar fineness were to be melted down and reissued in native currency.


A copy of this proposal was given to Mr. Alex. Guthrie, Town Clerk of Edinburgh, that he might lay it before the boroughs, and report their opinion and judgment in the following March.

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<sup>28</sup> P. C. R., MS. in Gen. Reg. Ho., Edin.

1631. Accordingly, on the 3rd of March, David Aikenhead, late Provost of Edinburgh, with other commissioners from the boroughs, appeared before the Privy Council and expressed their disapproval of the overture presented by the General of the Mint. They apprehended great inconvenience if the course of the foreign dollars was discharged before any new national coinage had been issued. They thought the importation of these dollars should for the future be prohibited, and recommended that the merchants ought to be allowed to pay the bullion due by them direct to the mint, and not to the farmers of the customs, and not before it was really due.

The matter was further delayed till the meeting of the Convention of Boroughs, and in the meantime Aikenhead and Guthrie were requested to put their opinions and reasons in writing. This they accordingly did, and on the 8th March they again appeared before the Council, and gave in the recommendations of the Convention, which agreed in substance with those of the commissioners. The Privy Council, on the 8th of July, issued a proclamation giving these proposals the force of law, and interdicting the currency of all foreign coins, except a few specially permitted to be current.

A new coinage of farthing tokens was authorised by the Privy Council on the 26th of August.<sup>20</sup> These are described in the minute. They were to weigh 8 grains Scots each, and were to be current for 3 pennies Scots. On the obverse were to be two C's interlaced thus  crowned with the legend CAR. D. G. MAG. BRIT. FRAN. ET HIB. R, and on the reverse a thistle with NEMO ME IMPVNE LACESSET. The Council

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<sup>20</sup> P. C. R., MS. Reg. Ho., Edin.

ordered 1,500 stone weight of pure copper to be issued in these tokens, and ordered all the copper money called *turners* to be called in.

It is specially mentioned that Briot was to be engaged in the mint on these tokens, and it is recorded that the general and master of the mint protested against any stranger being employed in working the farthings. A commission was also appointed to make all the arrangements for issuing this coinage before the time appointed in the warrant, viz., the 1st of June, 1633.

On the 16th of November a proclamation was made prohibiting the course of base farthing tokens, and their importation into the country.

1632. By an act of the 10th January of 1632, the type of the farthing tokens was changed, and a new one ordered in place of that authorised just before.<sup>30</sup> The coins are now authorised to be of two sorts current respectively for 2*d.* and 1*d.*, the latter still to weigh 8 grains. The obverse of the 2*d.* is to bear an imperial crown with C. R. at the sides of it and I. I. beneath it, and the penny the same, except only one I. The legends and reverse to be the same as at first sanctioned. The proportion minted between the two sorts of coins is to be fixed from time to time by the Treasurer or his Depute. This coinage was to be ready before 1st June, 1635.

In June Nicholas Briot made an overture to the King regarding the abuse of foreign money in Scotland,<sup>31</sup> and proposed that it should be called in, melted, and re-issued from the Scottish mint in small money, of which there was then great need. Rex dollars he proposed to buy in at 4*s.* 8*d.* sterling, and other silver coins proportionately to

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<sup>30</sup> P. C. R. MS., Edin.

<sup>31</sup> Miscel. MSS. Reg. Ho., Edin.

the rate of 5*s.* 4*d.* sterling per ounce of *xid.* fine. After a certain period the dollars were to be reduced to their proper value of 4*s.* 5*d.* The small money he proposed to issue in 4*d.*, 2*d.*, and 1*d.* pieces, of *xid.* fine rather than of *xid.* fine, in order to pay the expense of refining the foreign money to that standard.

To this proposition is appended the King's letter to the Privy Council, of date the 6th of June, directing them to consider Briot's overture, and also any which might be made by John Acheson.

Briot apparently determined soon after this to go to Scotland, for in October another letter from the King was directed to the Privy Council, stating that he had sent Briot to Edinburgh, and directing them again to consider his proposition and any other overtures submitted to them, and authorising them to take whatever course they might judge most expedient. On the 20th of November the commissioners from the boroughs and the officers of the mint appeared before the Council, and were ordered to give in their opinions in writing by the 29th; but this proving too short notice, it was further adjourned to the 10th of January.

On the 6th December Nicholas Briot, described in the minute as the Chief Graver of the English Mint, appeared in person before the Privy Council at Edinburgh,<sup>32</sup> and gave in, in writing, the propositions made by him for reforming the abuse of foreign coin already noticed,<sup>33</sup> with many arguments in support of his views, which, having been heard and considered by the Lords of Privy Council, they ordered copies to be given to the town of Edinburgh

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<sup>32</sup> P. C. R., MS. Reg. House, Edin.

<sup>33</sup> Miscell. MSS. Reg. House, Edin.

and the officers of the Cunzie house, to be considered by them, and answers lodged by the 10th of January next, along with the answers to the other propositions already alluded to.

In the meantime it was evident that this interference of the chief engraver of the English mint, in the matters more properly belonging to the Scottish one, was not favourably received by the officers of the Cunzie house. On the 11th December the Privy Council<sup>34</sup> was made aware that the general and officers of the mint had seized some quantity of the copper coin as being not according to the act of Council, and that Briot wanted to have this delivered to him. The Lords accordingly recommended the General of the mint to use the said Briot with all courtesy, and favour him as far as he could.

1633. The Privy Council met on the 10th of January,<sup>35</sup> and appointed the 15th of that month for the answers and overtures to be given in.

Accordingly on that day<sup>36</sup> a commissioner for the town of Edinburgh, the General of the Cunzie house, and George Foullis, master coiner, appeared personally before the Privy Council, and each gave in answers and overtures anent the proposition made by Nicholas Briot. The consideration of these was adjourned till the 29th of the month,<sup>37</sup> and in the interim a warrant was granted<sup>38</sup> to the Deputy Treasurer and the King's Advocate to pursue importers of foreign dollars, and exporters of native coin. On the 29th, accordingly, the Council met,<sup>39</sup> and, having first heard Briot's proposition, they then heard the

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<sup>34</sup> P. C. R. MS. Edin., fol. 170.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., fol. 178.

<sup>38</sup> 28th June.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., fol. 177.

<sup>37</sup> P. C. R., fol. 181—2.

<sup>39</sup> P. C. R., fol. 182

answers to it, and the overtures by the various parties above mentioned.

The Boroughs' answer was brought up by Mr. John Sinclair.<sup>40</sup> It begins with a repetition of Briot's propositions, and, after a very unnecessary sneer at him as "ane stranger," it proceeds to show that the remedy proposed would be worse than the disease. Briot's arguments are discussed in detail, and it is avowed that his proposal about the rex dollars would be a greater burden on the people than any tax that had ever been granted. The boroughs objected to the proposed coinage of small money of *xd. fine*; first, on account of the excessive gain to the proposer, and consequent loss to the people; and also because it would be a different standard from that of England. They pointed out that the consent of Parliament would be required before any coinage below the legal standard could be issued. The document is very lengthy, and not a little of it is taken up with unnecessary personal abuse of the proposer.

Acheson's answer<sup>41</sup> is shorter, and he brings prominently forward the fact that Briot had already failed in the copper coinage, seeing that thirty stone weight had been sequestered as not fulfilling the conditions of his contract.

Foullis answers<sup>42</sup> very clearly, and briefly points out the results which would follow the adoption of Briot's proposal. He shows that the loss to the holder of the coin would be *2s. Scots* for each dollar of the best kind, and much greater in those lighter in weight and baser in metal. He objects also to the mode of coinage proposed, as it would cause too great diversity of weight among the coins. He finishes

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<sup>40</sup> MS. Reg. Ho., Edin.

<sup>41</sup> Miscell. MSS. Reg. Ho., Edin.

<sup>42</sup> Miscell. MSS. Reg. Ho., Edin.

his objections by proposing that the amount of bullion brought in by merchants under the present law should be temporarily trebled; next, that the price paid per ounce should be raised from 55s. to 58s.; that exporters of goods and stock to England should bring back a certain proportion of the price in native currency or foreign money of equal fineness, for which they should have payment at the mint in dollars at £3 the ounce; and that a somewhat similar course should be taken with foreign purchasers of coals and salt. These regulations he proposed to continue in force for two years, and then, with the consent of England, to call up the money to £3 6s. 8d. Scots the ounce of *vid.* fine. In an additional overture of the same date he adduces further reasons in support of his propositions and other objections to Briot's.

To this overture of the Master Coiner's,<sup>43</sup> Mr. John Sinclair, on behalf of the boroughs, produced a very lengthy reply, in which many objections are urged against these proposals.

Acheson's overture has been also preserved. He proposed to bring in 500 stone weight of the dollars called the dog dollar, at the present price, and to re-issue them in alloyed money of *vid.* fine in half-merk, forty, and twenty penny pieces. These were not to have course in England, and any profit arising from them was to be employed in defraying the expense of coining the rex dollars into standard pieces. All coal and salt exported beyond sea were to be paid for in gold.

These various documents having been read, the Lords resolved to continue the consideration of them to a future meeting, and directed the boroughs to depute a represen-

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<sup>43</sup> Miscell. MSS., Edin. Reg. House.



tative from Edinburgh to appear in their behalf, and confer with the Privy Council when required. Warrant was granted by the Lords on the 21st of February<sup>44</sup> to examine certain persons charged about the copper coins, and on the 25th of May they received a missive<sup>45</sup> from the King requiring them to consider certain overtures made to him, and enclosed for their opinions, to be given to him at his coming, which matter was left by the Council for the consideration of Parliament. On the last day of May the Privy Council ordered the copper coin sequestrated to be delivered to Briot.

In June the Estates convened at Edinburgh<sup>46</sup> and the Commissioners of the Shires presented an article touching the scarcity of gold and silver coin, and the course of dollars and foreign base money in the country. It was remitted to the Privy Council to take such steps in the matter as they deemed advisable; and it was ordered that what they resolved on should have the force of law.

In the same Parliament, the King, sitting in person, protested that though he had for sundry reasons consulted the Privy Council in matters of money, it was not to prejudice his royal prerogative of managing such matters without the consent of the Estates, an assumption heretofore unknown in Scotland.

Commission was also given in this Parliament to the Privy Council to regulate the rate of interest due on loans to be advanced on exchange in London.<sup>47</sup>

1634. The Privy Council, on the 1st day of February, required Mr. William Gray and Alexander Guthrie to meet and confer with the Commissioners of Boroughs anent the

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<sup>44</sup> P. C. R., fol. 189.

<sup>46</sup> Vol. v. f. 49, c. 35.

<sup>45</sup> P. C. R., fol. 227.

<sup>47</sup> Vol. v. f. 51, c. 38.

coin, and to report their opinions on the following Thursday; and they ordered the officers of the Cunzie house to be present then.

No minute of this meeting appears in the Records of the Privy Council; but amongst the miscellaneous MSS. relating to the coinage preserved in the Register House, there is an overture by the Boroughs which seems to have been produced to the Privy Council on the 6th of February by Mr. Alexander Guthrie. It was proposed to lower the currency of the dollars gradually; every six months they were to be reduced 12*d.* till they reached the value at which they were then current in England. All foreign gold and silver money was to be converted into His Majesty's coin, at the same rate as it was then in England, viz., £3 7*s.* 1*d.* per ounce English, free of charge, for gold of 22 carat, and 5*s.* per ounce for silver of xii*d.* fine. They desired further, that till the scarcity of small money be alleviated all the bullion should be re-issued in 16*d.*, 20*d.*, 2*s.*, 32*d.*, 3*s.*, 40*d.*, 4*s.*, and five and one-plack pieces, and half-merk pieces, in order that the mode of reckoning might be a little different from the English, and so "make some impediment in the transporting thereof."

Warrant was granted on the 13th of March by the Privy Council<sup>48</sup> to coin 1,500 stone weight of copper, in addition to that ordered in January, 1632, but of the same type, weight, and value. A letter from the King to the Lords<sup>49</sup> was read on the 4th December, ordering them to take measures to punish the importers of English farthing tokens discharged by an act of Council in that country, and also to prevent the importation of false and counterfeit farthings and turners.

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<sup>48</sup> P. C. R., fol. 266.

<sup>49</sup> P. C. R., fol. 38.

On the same day there was minuted in the records of the Council an Act of Exchequer, bearing date 6th of November, 1634, in favour of the Earl of Stirling, granting him for nine years, or longer if necessary, the profits of the copper coinage in Scotland in payment of some monies due to him. Six thousand stone of copper was to be issued immediately after the fifteen hundred stones already authorised.

The Earl of Haddington having caused some persons<sup>50</sup> charged with uttering false coin to be imprisoned, the Privy Council approved and ratified his warrant, and directed all magistrates to look out for false coiners.

1635. An Englishman, named Henry Rubank, having been apprehended with a quantity of counterfeit turners and farthings in his possession, they were ordered by the Lords of Privy Council<sup>51</sup> to be taken to the Cunzie house, and there defaced or melted down.

A proclamation was made on the 17th of February<sup>52</sup> prohibiting the course of false farthings and turners, and the importation of all such, and of foreign copper coins under severe penalties, and declaring that forgers and counterfeiters of coin should be punished with death. In spite of all this, however, the importation of false and foreign money was actively carried on, and in March 17th the Privy Council<sup>53</sup> granted a commission to certain persons to take steps for finding out the guilty persons, with full power to apprehend them and bring them before the Council.

On the 1st of April a similar commission<sup>54</sup> was granted to the Bishop of Moray, and to such others as he should

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<sup>50</sup> P. C. R., fol. 41.

<sup>51</sup> P. C. R., f. 53.

<sup>52</sup> P. C. R., f. 57.

<sup>53</sup> P. C. R., fol. 66.

<sup>54</sup> P. C. R., fol. 73.

nominate and appoint, to search for and seize all persons making false dollars.

A letter from the King to the Council<sup>55</sup> regarding the coin was read at their meeting, on the 2nd July, in which he announced that he had ordered Briot to repair to Scotland, and directed the Council to call him before them, along with any others interested, and hear and report their propositions and answers. The Council met again on the 7th July,<sup>56</sup> and adjourned the consideration of the money to their next meeting. On the 9th they met again, and had before them one Leonard Leslie, accused of having in his possession false dollars.

Proclamation was made on the 7th August<sup>57</sup> anent the coin, setting forth that all merchants were to pay the bullion due by them to the mint in coin brought from beyond seas, the produce of their exports, that it might be made into his Majesty's own coin, and that merchants and drovers were not to exchange the King's money for foreign. Coalmasters and owners of saltworks were to receive payment only in native currency, or rials, and quart d'écus.

On the same day Nicholas Briot was appointed Master of the Mint,<sup>58</sup> in the room of George Foullis, recently deceased. He was ordered to make pieces of gold and silver conform to the contract between the late King and Thomas Achesoun until a new contract be arranged.

Briot was accordingly sworn in to perform the duties of his office, and all the officials were commanded to obey his orders.

George Foullis, son of the late master, was ordered to hand over all the things belonging to the mint in the charge of the late master, upon inventory.

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<sup>55</sup> P. C. R., fol. 85.    <sup>56</sup> Fols. 86, 87.    <sup>57</sup> Fol. 95.    <sup>58</sup> Fol. 97.

The inventory is dated 11th August, and bears that in the presence of John Acheson, General of the Mint, and the other officials and workmen, sundry articles were handed over, including weights, balances, shears, casting implements, ladles, hammers, and a long list of other implements and necessities.

Shortly after this,<sup>59</sup> on December 23rd, the Lords determined to take action in the matter of the dollars in February next.

1636. On the 11th of February the Lords of Privy Council absolutely prohibited<sup>60</sup> the course of any foreign dollars, of whatever print, weight, or fineness above 56/ Scots the piece, and the halves in proportion.

Certain commissioners were appointed in June<sup>61</sup> to confer with Briot anent the conditions of the contract to be made with him, and as to the management of the mint. Accordingly, on the 11th of that month, the commissioners convened, and having carefully inquired into the office of master coiner, not only at the officials of the mint, but also at several of the chief merchants, found that the master coiner should, in the first place, find sufficient caution for the faithful discharge of his office, and that he should reside within the country. To both of these conditions Briot (being present) objected, on the ground that he was already the king's officer in the mint in London, and that if he resided permanently in Scotland he would lose the £300 per annum he had in England. The officials of the Scottish mint, on their part, objected to his being appointed both master coiner and also graver of the irons as being neither convenient nor according to precedent; and they further pointed out that Briot intended to introduce a new species of coining-mill, which

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<sup>59</sup> P. C. R., fol. 121.

<sup>60</sup> Fol. 128.

<sup>61</sup> Fol. 151.

might make some difference in the coinage, and that any such change would now require the sanction not only of the Estates of Scotland but also of the Parliament of England. Accordingly, the commissioners reported to the Council that they would petition the King not to introduce any novelties into the mint of Scotland.

On the 23rd of June the Council<sup>62</sup> were obliged to authorise the Lord High Treasurer to arrange temporarily with Briot—until such time as the King should make known his pleasure about the appointment of master coiner—for coining some small money on the best conditions he could make; but it was specially provided that this should in no way strengthen Briot's pretension to any office in the mint.

The result of these negotiations is minuted in the Record of 21st July.<sup>63</sup> The whole bullion then owing in the merchants' hands was to be brought to the mint and struck (according to the manner of striking used before), into half-merk, 40*d.* and 20*d.* pieces of x*d.* fine. The half-merk was to bear on the obverse the king's head, crowned with  $\text{VI}$  behind it, and the legend "CAROLVS D. G. SCOT. ANG. FR. & HIB. R.," and on the reverse the royal arms, with the legend "CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO." The 40*d.* piece is the type of Wingate, pl. 41, fig. 6, with the exception that the warrant has "&" instead of "et" on the obverse, and "REIP. SVPR." on the reverse, instead of "REIPVB. {SVPREMA." The 20*d.* piece is the same as Ruding, pl. 41, fig. 17. One-fourth of all the bullion was to be issued in half-merk pieces, and the remainder equally divided among the other sorts.

In every pound of silver, when fined and struck, there were to be  $146\frac{1}{8}$  half-merk pieces, or  $292\frac{1}{2}$  40*d.* pieces, or  $584\frac{1}{4}$  20*d.* pieces, with proportionate remedies. These

<sup>62</sup> P. C. R., fol. 155.

<sup>63</sup> Fol. 162.

were to be coined as quickly as possible ; and it is expressly provided that, as Charles Dickesone, the graver of the mint, has "not beene in use to graue his majestie's face, and that the said Nicolas Briot being cheife graver to his majestie in the mynt of England is best "experienced with such livelie impressions"—therefore he is ordered to "grave" the "effigie" for the above three coins, and give them to Dickesone to sink ; and warrant is granted to Dickesone to sink the irons accordingly.

In July commissioners were appointed by the Privy Council<sup>64</sup> to make a trial of the assay box, and to report to the Lords thereanent.

Shortly afterwards (12th September) a proclamation was made, informing all and sundry of the new coinage, and providing that no dollars should have course for more than 54s. (Scots) the piece ; and on the same day an act was made regarding foreign copper coinage, interdicting every one from importing it into the country.

Briot was evidently still desirous of trying his new machinery in the mint, for on the 14th September<sup>65</sup> it is expressly minuted that the new coinage was to be made in the old way, with the hammer ; at least, until his Majesty shall make his pleasure known about the matter.

In November further discussion on the subject of the coinage took place in the Privy Council,<sup>66</sup> and it ended by Briot's being called in before the Council, and asked if he would convert two parts of the dollars at present current in the kingdom into 12s. and 6s. (Scots) pieces, paying back to the bringers 54s. Scots for each dollar ; which he undertook to do, if he was allowed to coin them in his mill, and if the King would dispense with any profit from the coinage.

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<sup>64</sup> P. C. R., fols. 165, 170.

<sup>65</sup> Fol. 171.

<sup>66</sup> Fol. 177.

Certain prisoners were to be examined about the false dollars, and, if necessary, they were to be tortured to confess their accomplices.

1637. In January of this year Briot succeeded at last in getting a trial for his new machinery, on the terms indicated above; but it is not quite certain whether he received a direct permission to use the mill and screw for the small coins. At any rate, it was to be tried for the two larger pieces (the 12s. and 6s. Scots), and Dickesone was empowered to sink dies similar to what were used in the time of the late Thomas Achesoun, and Briot was directed to assist him where necessary.

On the 14th of February the Council<sup>67</sup> considered a proposition, made by the Lord Alexander, about coining some copper money in the mint, and some other matters; and on the 1st of April they formally permitted Briot to use his mill<sup>68</sup> till the 15th day of June.

Eighteen hundred stone weight of copper was ordered to be coined by an act of Council on the 6th of June,<sup>69</sup> the profit of which was to go to the Earl of Stirling. It will be seen later that this grant caused great popular dissatisfaction. On the same day warrant was granted to commit an individual to prison, charged with having clippings of the coins illegally in his possession, and to search the premises of a burghess of Glasgow suspected of this offence.

Several other parties about this period are recorded<sup>70</sup> as charged or found guilty of various offences against the coinage.

Commission under the great seal was given to certain members of the Privy Council to consider the state of the mint,<sup>71</sup> and the Town Council of Edinburgh were requested

<sup>67</sup> P. C. R., fol. 187.

<sup>68</sup> Fol. 199.

<sup>69</sup> Fol. 204.

<sup>70</sup> Fol. 221 et seq.

<sup>71</sup> Fol. 238 (June).



to choose some "understanding person" from among themselves, or from the boroughs, to attend the meeting of the commissioners. The officers of the mint and some others were also ordered to attend. In the meantime proclamation was made that no change would take place in the rate of currency of the dollars.

The same day the Town Clerk of Edinburgh and certain members of the Council appeared before the Privy Council, and stated their opinion that the crying up of annual rents, and the encouragement of trade by easing the customs, would greatly increase the stock of money in the country.

On the 2nd of August Briot presented a missive from the King, requiring the Council to set the mint to work at once upon the gold and silver coins, and to settle the copper coinage as was formerly directed. The Privy Council ordered this letter to be given up to the boroughs, and their opinion on it to be given in the next day.

On the 3rd, therefore, the conference took place,<sup>72</sup> and in the minute it is recorded that the Lords, in obedience to his Majesty's command, made choice of Nicholas Briot, a native of the Duchy of Lorraine, as Master of the Mint,<sup>73</sup> and further joined with him in that office his son-in-law, John Falconer, with all powers, privileges, immunities, and casualties. Among the sureties and cautioners named by the masters-elect we find the names of Sir Alexander Falconer, of Halkerston, and his eldest son, father and brother of the new master. The customary oaths were then administered.

This was followed in October by a warrant<sup>74</sup> to continue the use of the mill (of which the former licence had expired) till November, and to coin with it 30s. pieces (Scots), 12s. pieces, half-merks, 40*d.*, and 20*d.* pieces.

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<sup>72</sup> P. C. R., fol. 239.

<sup>73</sup> P. C. R., ante.

<sup>74</sup> Fol. 240.

On the 19th of the same month a warrant was granted for coining the gold from Guinea (brought home by certain adventurers), in the pieces, and of the weights, value, and finenesses as expressed in the contract of 15th April, 1625, and preceding contracts passed between the King and the late master coiners.

This was, however, to some extent altered on the 14th of December,<sup>75</sup> when it is minuted that the legend on the one side of the greater pieces should be HIS PRÆSVM VT PROSIM, and on the lesser pieces VNITA TVEMUR.

On the same day Briot received a general licence, without any restriction of time, to use his machinery for the coinage.

The band of caution for the intromissions of the master coiners is duly entered in the Records of the Privy Council.

1639. By an act of Parliament, on the 16th of September,<sup>76</sup> the importation of copper money was prohibited on the pain of death; and on the 25th of the same month an act was passed discharging the Master of the Mint and others from taking the bullion beforehand; and it was proposed in the same Parliament to coin no more copper money, and to alter the value of the turners.

In the following month<sup>77</sup> the barons wished to reduce those coins to one halfpenny, but this did not pass.

On the 2nd of November a special proclamation was made against false "turners"; and the currency of those lately printed was reduced to one penny Scots.

The evils arising from the great quantity of these small copper coins, struck probably under the Earl of Stirling's licence, were loudly complained against; and it is related by Spalding that about this time trade was almost at a standstill.

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<sup>75</sup> P. C. R., fol. 243.

<sup>76</sup> "Acts," vol. v. pp. 260, 265, 268.

<sup>77</sup> Vol. v. p. 284.

On the 7th of November the Privy Council, on the earnest recommendation of the Town Council of Edinburgh, rescinded their proclamation of the 2nd inst., as to the reduction of the turners to a penny Scots, and permitted them to be current for the same value as formerly.

1641. It was represented to the Parliament convened at Edinburgh<sup>78</sup> in August, 1641, that immediate steps should be taken about the copper money; but nothing is recorded. An act<sup>79</sup> about the payment of the bullion due by the merchants was passed on the 10th of September. The Privy Council<sup>80</sup> sent a long reply to some queries addressed to them from England regarding the course and value of the gold currency.

1642. On the 24th February a new copper coinage was authorised by act of Privy Council. Fifteen hundred stone weight of pure copper was ordered to be issued in twopenny pieces, of which said twopenny pieces ten and two parts of a piece were to be in the ounce weight, and fourscore and five and one-third to be in the mark weight.

On one side this twopenny piece was to bear the imperial crown, with C. R. at the sides, and the legend CAR. D.G. SCOT. ANG. FRA. ET HIB. R.; and on the other, a thistle, with NEMO ME IMPVNE LACASSET (*sic*). These coins were to be issued before the 1st of June next; and no one was obliged to take more than sixpence of them in a pound. The old copper coinage was discharged, and the Master of the Mint authorised to pay 13*s.* 4*d.* per pound for it, if presented at the Cunzie house.

Dollars, ryals, and cardecues (quart d'écus) were prohibited from being current<sup>81</sup> below certain weights, and the

<sup>78</sup> "Acts," vol. v. p. 365.

<sup>80</sup> Hopetoun MSS.

<sup>79</sup> Ruding, vol. i. p. 393.

<sup>81</sup> P. C. R., fol. 29.

value was fixed at 54*s.* (Scots) for the piece of fifteen drops, 53*s.* 4*d.* for fourteen drops, and 19*s.* for the cardecues.

A warrant for a new coinage was issued on the 28th of March, 1642. It prohibited, in the first place, any further coinage of the half-merk, forty, or twenty penny pieces, and ordered in their place two new coins, one to be current for 3*s.* Scots, and the other for 2*s.* The latter piece was to have the king's portrait on the obverse, with "I I" on the right side thereof, and the usual legend; and on the reverse, the lion within a double tressure, crowned with the legend IVST. THRONVM FIRMAT. The three shilling piece was to have the king's head on the obverse, with the head of a thistle behind it, with the usual legend; and on the reverse, his Majesty's arms, with the legend SALVS REIP. SVPREMA LEX. These coins were to be of the same standard as the former issue. Dickesone was to grave the irons, but there is nothing said about Briot giving him any assistance.

This very important record corrects an error which will be found in every work on Scottish numismatics, and shows that the piece with the thistle behind the head is part of a distinct coinage, and not a mere variety of the half-merk, as has been always hitherto assumed.

On the 15th of April the Lords of Privy Council ordered no foreign coin to be current except rex dollars of 15 drop weight for 54*s.*, and others particularly specified with given values and weights.

1644. An overture by Sir James Hope in 1644 to Parliament is preserved in the Hopetoun MSS. No notice was taken of it, however.

An act of Parliament,<sup>82</sup> in August, 1645, raised the

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<sup>82</sup> Vol. vi. p. 197.

values of the coins, and fixed the *rex dollar* at 58*s.*, and the other foreign coins in proportion.

1646. A coinage of copper had been authorised on the 12th of November, 1644 (but at that period the record is blank), and in May, 1646, the Lords prorogate the warrant till the following 11th of November.

1649. On the 5th of February, 1649, the Estates of Parliament<sup>83</sup> ordered all the irons of the Cunzie house to be delivered to John, Earl of Loudon, in order that they might take order for altering or changing them if they saw fit; and on the 12th June a committee was appointed<sup>84</sup> to consider the rates of money, and to take measures for getting a supply of bullion. The result of their deliberations is not stated.

1650. In the following year, on the 4th of July, a letter and warrant was sent by the Estates to the conservator, to make matrices for striking the coin, and Sir John Falconer was authorised to mint three score stone of copper,<sup>85</sup> and no more; but there are no details given, nor any description of the dies, so that it is impossible to tell whether they differed from those formerly used or not.

In December a paper was presented to the Estates<sup>86</sup> about a warrant given to the master of the mint to coin gold and silver, which was remitted to the various bodies, but the particulars and the result are not specified.

1651. A committee was named on the 21st March, 1651, to consider the rates of the money,<sup>87</sup> and to take steps to prevent the exportation of the coin, and to report their opinions to Parliament; and on the following day another committee was named to consider the paper given in about the coin.

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<sup>83</sup> "Acts," vol. vi. part 2, p. 159.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 602. <sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 608.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 409.

<sup>87</sup> Vol. vi. p. 587.

Parliament considered the question on the 31st March,<sup>88</sup> at Perth, and raised the shilling to 13s. 4d., and the double-angel to £15 Scots, and all other pieces to corresponding prices. On the same day certain commissioners were appointed<sup>89</sup> to examine the mint at Dundee, and to apply a sum not exceeding 2,000 merks in repairing it.

1652. A committee of the English Parliament met the deputies from Scotland on November 16th, 1652, to confer regarding the money. The deputies complained of the great scarcity of money in the country, nothing being current but ryalls and cross-dollars, and those for the most part counterfeit; and urged the committee<sup>90</sup> to lay the matter before Parliament.

A further conference took place on the 25th November,<sup>91</sup> and on the 21st December the deputies proposed to Parliament to set the mint going again, and to call in the ryalls and reissue them, and to apply £10,000 (besides the repairs) for this purpose.

1658. It was proposed to issue £5,000 worth of bodles for Scotland, and the committee recommended this to be done, but the Council<sup>92</sup> thought nothing was required.

1660. On the 4th of December of this year Charles Maitland, of Halton, was appointed general of the mint.

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<sup>88</sup> Vol. vi. p. 597.

<sup>89</sup> P. 601.

<sup>90</sup> "Acts," vol. vi. part ii., p. 796, new edit.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., pp. 797, 798.

<sup>92</sup> Vol. vi. p. 766.

TABLE OF THE GOLD COINS OF CHARLES I.

Date of Issue.	Coin.	Reference.	Weight in Grains.	Value in Scots.	Purity.	
1625	Unit or double crown.	Wingate, Pl. 39, fig. 12.		£ s. d. 13 4 0		This coinage was exactly similar to that of the later reign, save in the name CAROLVS instead of IACOBVS.
	Double crown or angel.	Wingate, Pl. 39, fig. 13.	37½ units were to be in the lb. Troy English.	6 12 0		
	Britain crown or five merk piece.	Car., Pl. 4, fig. 8.		3 6 0	22 cts.	
	Thistle crown or four merk piece.			52 6		
	Half crown.			33 0		
1637	Unit. Half unit. Quarter unit Eighth unit.	Wingate, Pl. 39, fig. 14. Wingate, Pl. 39, fig. 15. Car., Pl. 4, fig. 9. Wingate, Pl. 39, fig. 16.				This coinage was at first ordered to be exactly the same as the first, but afterwards the Privy Council ordered the legend HIS PRÆSVM VT PROSIM on the reverse of the larger pieces and VNITATVE-MVR on the smaller.

TABLE OF THE SILVER COINS OF CHARLES I.

Date.	Coin.	Reference.	Weight	Value in Scots Money.	Purity	
1625	Crown.	Wingate, Pl. 40, figs. 1, 2,	12 $\frac{3}{4}$ crowns	s. d. 60 0	den. 11	This coinage is the same in all respects as the last reign, except the name of the king. There is no means of distinguishing the halfpenny.
	Half crown.	3.	were	30 0	"	
	Shilling.	Car., Pl. 11,	to be	12 0	"	
	Sixpence.	figs. 10, 9.	in the	6 0	"	
	Twopence.		lb.	2 0	"	
	Penny.		Troy	1 0	"	
	Halfpenny.		Eng-lish.	0 6	"	
1636	Half merk.	<i>Obv.</i> CAROLVS D.G. SCOT. ANG. FR. & HIB. R. <i>Rev.</i> CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO.	51.8 grs.	6 8		This coinage was made during Briot's temporary engagement at the Mint, but before his machinery was allowed to be used. The shilling and sixpence were authorised later, and were made with the mill and screw.
	Forty penny piece.	As Wingate, Pl. 41, fig. 17, but REIP. SVPR. and "&" instead of ET.	25.9	3 4	"	
	Twenty penny piece.	<i>Obv.</i> CAR. D.G. &c. <i>Rev.</i> JVST. THRONVM FIRMAT.	12.9	1 8		
	Shilling.	Wingate, Pl. 41, fig. 4.		12 0		
	Sixpence.	Car., Pl. 12, fig. 3.		6 0		
1637	Crown.	Wingate, Pl. 40, figs. 4, 5,	Same	Same	"	These were engraved by Briot and his son - in - law Falconer.
	Half crown.	6.	as 1625.	as 1625.		
	Shilling.	Wingate, Pl. 41, fig. 1.				
	Sixpence.					
1637	Half merk.		Same	Same		
	Forty penny.	Wingate, Pl. 41, figs. 6, 9.	as 1636.	as 1636.		
	Twenty penny.					
1642	Three shilling piece.	Wingate, Pl. 41, figs. 7, 12.		3 0	"	The dies for this coinage were engraved by Dickeson.
	Two shilling piece.			2 0		



TABLE OF THE COPPER COINS OF CHARLES I.

Date of Issue.	Coin.	Reference or Description.	Weight in Scots grains.	Value in Scots Money.	
1629	Twopenny. Penny.	Wingate, Pl. 41, fig. 14.			{ This was ordered to be the same as the coinage of 1623, except CAROLVS instead of IACOBVS.
1631	Tokens.	<i>Obv.</i> DC crowned, CAR.D.G.MAG. BRIT. FRAN. ET HIB. R. <i>Rev.</i> Thistle crowned, NEMO, &c.	8	3d.	{ This type was altered by the Privy Council, in Jan., 1632, to the following one.
1632	Twopenny.	<i>Obv.</i> Imperial crown, with C. R. at sides, and ·I· on the penny and ·I·I· on the two-penny. <i>Rev.</i> As above.	16	2d.	
	Penny.		8	1d.	
1642	Twopenny. Penny.	<i>Obv.</i> Imperial crown, with C. R. CAR.D.G.SCOT. ANG. FRA. ET HIB. R. <i>Rev.</i> Thistle with NEMO, &c.	44·5		

R. W. COCHRAN PATRICK.

## NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

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The *Revue Numismatique*, after an interval of three years, has again made its appearance. Part I., 1874, contains the following articles:—

1. Jacques de Rougé.—“On the Coins of the Nomes of Egypt.”

2. Adr. de Longpérier.—“On an unpublished Denier of King Raoul, A.D. 923-936.”

3. L. Deschamps de Pas.—“Essay on the Monetary History of the Counts of Flanders, of the House of Austria, and Classification of their Coins” (5th article).

In the *Chronique* is a review, by M. Adr. de Longpérier, of Mr. Percy Gardner's article on coins with the inscription **ΤΡΙΗ** (*NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE*, Vol. XI., p. 162), in which he differs from some of Mr. Gardner's conclusions on the score of the weights of certain coins with the above inscription, which do not appear to him to correspond with what he supposes to have been their normal weights. M. de Longpérier seems, however, to ignore the fact that the Corinthian divisions are throughout about one-third less than the Attic: thus the silver stater, which at Athens was equal to 2 drachms, was by the Corinthians divided into 3, the Attic drachm weighing 67·5 grs., while the Corinthian is only 45 grs. The Corinthian drachm, or third part of the stater, although thus the equivalent of the Attic tetrobol, was nevertheless divided, like the Attic drachm, into 6 obols: hence the Corinthian obol would only weigh 7·5 grs., being the 18th part of the stater of 135 grs., while the Attic obol, being the 12th part of the same stater, is 11·25 grs., and consequently equivalent to a Corinthian trihemiobol. Mr. Gardner has weighed eight specimens of coins reading **ΤΡΙΗ**, the heaviest of which is 11·2 grs., the average weight being about 9·8 grs., a result which in our opinion tends to confirm Mr. Gardner's opinion, that **ΤΡΙΗ** stands for Trihemiobol. We cannot therefore agree with M. de Longpérier, who finds an obstacle in these weights to the acceptance of Mr. Gardner's explanation.

M. de Longpérier also contributes a short notice of a didrachm of Cyrene, with the reverse inscription **ΔΑΜΩΚΥΡΑΣ**, which he explains as an epithet of the god Hermes, considered as the protector of the people of Cyrene, the word

**ΔΑΜΩΚΥΡΑΝΑ** on a bronze coin at Turin, accompanying the head of Artemis, being the feminine form of the same word.

The Part concludes with the history of the acquisition of the De Sauley collection of Gaulish coins by the French Government for £8,000. France is to be congratulated on this important addition to the national collection, which was effected by the combined action of no less than sixty-eight provincial societies, who united in petitioning the Government to purchase the coins in question. When will such an expression of enlightened public opinion be forthcoming in our own country for any similar purpose? We fear the time is still far distant when England will be able to enumerate sixty-eight societies in the provinces alone, who will interest themselves in the preservation of our national antiquities.

Part II., 1874, contains the following articles :—

1. A. de Longpérier.—“Pelops and Hippodameia on a Medallion of Smyrna, of Antoninus Pius.”

2. F. de Sauley.—“Note on some unpublished Coins of Ascalon, with the Portraits of Ptolemy Auletes, Cleopatra, and Ptolemy Dionysus.”

3. A. de Longpérier.—“Coins of Characene : King Obadas.” This king was contemporary with Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. Up to the present time he is the last of the kings of Characene who is known to have used the Greek language on his coins.

4. A. de Longpérier.—“Alphonso of Portugal, Count of Boulogne.” The denier of this prince, engraved by M. de Longpérier, is a servile imitation of those of Henry II. of England (1st coinage), and was probably struck at Boulogne and not in Portugal.

5. L. Deschamps de Pas.—“Essay on the Monetary History of the Counts of Flanders, of the House of Austria, and Classification of their Coins” (6th article).

In the *Chronique* is a note by M. Chabouillet, relative to the Trésor d'Auriol, in which he chronicles the discovery of a number of similar coins at Volterra. This find renders it highly improbable that all the various types comprised in the Auriol Find are to be attributed to the ancient Phocæan city of Marseilles.

M. de Longpérier notices coins of Mantinea in Arcadia, and of Ichnæ in Macedonia, the latter of which, now in the British Museum, forms the subject of an article by M. Bompois in the present number of the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

M. de Longpérier also draws our attention to an important

discovery lately made by M. J. von Kolb, in a work called "Enträthselte Siglen auf Münzen Diocletians and Maximians," Wien, 1874, in which he has solved the enigma contained in the mysterious letters occurring on the reverses of certain coins of Diocletian and Maximian, which have long been a puzzle to Numismatists. Together with the numerals **A . B . Γ**, which refer to the various *officinae*, and the mark **XXI**, which is the index of value, these coins furnish other letters in the exergue. These are, on the coins of Diocletian, **I, O,** and **BI**; and on those of Maximian, **HP, KOY,** and **AI**. These letters, occurring upon different coins, when united, form the words **IOBI** and **HPKOYAI**, clearly Greek transcriptions of **IOVI** and **HERCVLI**, epithets respectively of Diocletian and Maximian. These coins were struck at *Serdica*. Some of those struck at Rome have the symbols of the thunderbolt, or the club, which are supposed to represent the same two surnames—Jovius and Hercules.

The part concludes with notices of various mediæval coins.

Our friends across the Channel are just now displaying an activity in Numismatics which redounds much to their credit, and which we would commend to our own countrymen, and especially to the members of the Numismatic Society. MM. de Saulcy, Barthélemy, and Hucher, finding the old *Revue Numismatique* insufficient for their assiduity, have resolved upon starting a new numismatic periodical, under the title of *Mélanges de Numismatique*, of which the first number appeared in July last. It contains the following articles:—

1. E. Hucher.—"Review of Gaulish Numismatics."

2. E. Hucher.—"Examination in detail of the Trésor d'Auriol." This is a valuable catalogue of the various types represented upon these interesting little coins, accompanied by seventy-two engravings on wood, showing all the principal varieties, and bringing clearly before our eyes the fact that these pieces represent the currency of an extensive monetary league, similar to that of Phocæa and Cyzicus. The majority of the types which occur on the Auriol coins are borrowed from towns on the coast of Asia Minor, and there we may perhaps seek the head-quarters of the League, of which Marseilles was doubtless an important member. This League, judging from the types which have come to light, must have included Lesbos, Cyzicus, Clazomenæ, and other towns.

3. F. de Saulcy.—"On some ancient Countermarks. Countermarked Coins of the Seleucidæ."

4. E. Hucher.—"Note on a Marriage Piece in the Museum of Rouen."

The part concludes with a description of some Gaulish coins found at Vernon.

The *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, 5me Série, Tome VI., 3me livraison, contains the following articles:—

1. Hooft van Iddekinge.—“Numismatic Studies.”
2. D. Chestret de Haneffe.—“Notes on the History and Numismatics of Gronsveld.”
3. Roest.—“Inedited Coins of Gueldres.”

In the *Correspondance* are letters from the Baron de Witte, M. Schuermans, and others, to M. R. Chalon.

The *Mélanges* contains notices of all the recent numismatic publications.

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Catalogue of the Roman Medallions in the British Museum, by Herbert A. Grueber, edited by Reginald Stuart Poole. London, 1874. 8vo. Longmans.

The additions which have of late years been made to the series of Roman medallions in the British Museum, by the acquisition of some of the finest specimens from the Blacas, Wigan, and Tyskiewicz cabinets, have resulted in the formation of a collection of those interesting works of art which we believe will shortly take its place as the first in Europe. This is, however, a point upon which we can only give our opinion upon hearsay evidence, as the keepers of the Paris and Berlin cabinets have not as yet published official catalogues of the treasures under their charge. We are glad to be able to say that the authorities of our own Museum have, within the last few years, taken the initiative in this respect, and are evincing a praiseworthy activity in the preparation and publication of coin catalogues which we trust will before long be emulated by the learned *conservateurs* of the museums of France and Germany. A German writer has justly remarked, concerning the right of private individuals to the sole possession of art treasures, “Die Werke der Kunst gehören nicht der Einzelnen, sie gehören der gebildeten Menschheit an;”<sup>1</sup> and this is no less true of the contents of national museums, for it is distinctly the duty of the Government to provide means for the publication, from time to time, of complete catalogues of the various works of art preserved for the public instruction; and the keepers of all such collections should be held responsible, not only for their safe preservation from injury or loss, but for the com-

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<sup>1</sup> Heeren, Ideen über Politik, etc., der vornehmsten Völker des Alterthums, Theil, 3, Abtheilung, 1.

pilation and editing of full and comprehensive accounts and descriptions calculated to be of service to students, who have not the leisure or the opportunity of consulting the monuments themselves.

Such a work is the one now before us, and great praise is due to the zeal and enterprise of Mr. Poole, under whose able direction it has been compiled by Mr. Herbert Grueber.

The volume contains detailed descriptions of all the Roman medallions in the Museum cabinets, arranged in strict chronological order from the reign of Domitian to that of Priscus Attalus, a period of more than three hundred years. Those descriptions are throughout minutely accurate, and sometimes almost too lengthy, rendering it occasionally somewhat difficult for the reader to seize at a glance the subject of a medallion without referring to the plates. This, however, will not be considered a disadvantage by the real student of archæology, who will find all the minutiae of the dress, both of the emperors upon the obverses and of the figures upon the reverses, as well as all the accessory details, chronicled with the utmost care and attention.

The value of Roman medallions to the artist, as well as to the archæologist, is infinitely greater than that of the large brass coins of the period. In fact, with the single exception of the reliefs on the column of Trajan, they give a better idea of Roman art than any other monuments with which we are acquainted.

A glance at the index of types will show how important they are as records of events, both historical and legendary. Victories over the barbarians of Germany, of Armenia and Parthia, and of Britain, are chronicled on medallions of Domitian, Verus, and Commodus respectively. The return of the corn fleet from Alexandria, in the reign of Commodus, and the cessation of the plague in Rome, under Antoninus Pius, may be taken as examples, among many others, of domestic events; while the contest of Minerva and Neptune for the soil of Attica, and the building of Troy, may be mentioned among the legendary or mythological subjects represented.

Iconographically again, medallions stand far in advance of coins, the portraits being more faithful, inasmuch as they are more careful works of art, if they are not by superior artists, which is probable. But even granting them to be by the engravers ordinarily employed in the mint, their larger size and bolder relief would naturally give a wider scope to the hand and the imagination of the artist.

This catalogue is provided with copious indexes and tables,

by which reference to the text and plates is facilitated. The table of dates and titles is especially worthy of remark, and will prove most useful to all students of the history of the period. By its means we are enabled to fix the exact year to which each medallion is to be ascribed, the dates A.D. of the successive consulships, tribunitian powers, imperatorships, &c., of each emperor being given in chronological sequence.

We cannot conclude this review without a short notice of the magnificent series of plates which accompanies this luxurious catalogue. These are sixty-six in number, each plate containing at least three medallions executed in the best style of the autotype process, with which our readers are already familiar from the plates of Syracusan coins lately published with Mr. Head's treatise, which forms part of the present volume of the *CHRONICLE*. The great majority of the medallions are photographed from casts made from the original specimens, the remainder are from drawings by Miss Godsall; and however much we may regret that they are not all photographed from casts, yet we cannot refrain from allowing the artist all due praise for the fidelity with which she has reproduced the characteristic traits of the originals. It is unfortunate nevertheless that the finest specimens, the immense value of which has doubtless rendered the editor unwilling to submit them to the process of casting, will not compare, as represented on the plates, with those of lesser value and poorer preservation which have been reproduced mechanically, without the intervention of a modern interpreter. A comparison between Plates III. and IV. will suffice to exemplify our meaning. We trust that in the catalogue of the large brass coins, which we doubt not will follow in due course of time, some means may be found to remedy this defect, which is in our opinion the only one which detracts, in any serious degree, from the value of the work.

We could indeed have wished that the preface to the work had contained some short account of the light in which these medallions are to be regarded, whether as coins, medals, trial-pieces of engravers, or legionary insignia; and had also explained the cause why some of the pieces, usually classed by collectors as medallions, are excluded from the catalogue, which commences abruptly with the reign of Domitian. References to Eckhel and other writers, by whom the symbolism of the more interesting types has been explained, would also, we think, have enhanced the value of the catalogue without materially increasing its bulk. These are, however, but questionable desiderata, and we heartily commend the catalogue to our readers as at once both excellent and cheap.

### XIII.

#### EXPLICATION D'UN DIDRACHME INÉDIT DE LA VILLE D'ICHNAE (MACÉDOINE).

##### APPENDICE.

24  
Les feuilles de ce mémoire étaient déjà sous presse, lorsque j'ai reçu—malheureusement trop tard pour les insérer à leurs places respectives—communication de deux médailles inédites, conservées actuellement au Cabinet National de France, médailles qui, je ne sais trop comment, avaient échappé à mon examen et dont la première, surtout—par la complète nouveauté de son type—devra, je pense, intéresser tous ceux qui s'occupent de cette classe de monnaies.

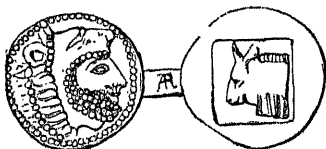
Je m'empresse de les faire connaître dans cette note supplémentaire, en priant le lecteur de vouloir bien les ajouter, par la pensée, à la liste de celles qui ont été décrites plus haut (p. 206) et que j'ai cru devoir attribuer à la ville de *Dicaea* ou *Dicaeopolis* de la Thrace.



1. *Obv.*—Bœuf debout, à droite, se retournant à gauche et se grattant la tête avec le pied droit de derrière : au dessus, on lit le mot **ΔΙΚΑ** en caractères archaïques.



*Rev.*—Aire creuse et profonde, divisée en quatre compartiments égaux par deux larges barres formant la croix. *Æ.* Mod. 8 de Mionnet; poids, 2.65. Cabinet National de France; très-belle conserv.



2. *Obv.*—Tête d'Hercule couverte de la peau de lion, à droite; l'œil est de face et la barbe figurée par une infinité de globules; le tout entouré d'un grenetis très-saillant.

*Rev.*—Sans légende. Tête de bœuf avec le cou, à gauche; dans un carré creux peu profond. *Æ.* Mod. 5½ de Mionnet; poids, 7.27. Cabinet National de France (collect. de Luynes). Conservation superbe et d'un style, relativement, très-bon.

J'ai montré, en son lieu, par des preuves, à ce que je crois, suffisamment valables et appuyées, d'ailleurs, sur des textes irrécusables, qu'il fallait—si l'on veut tenir compte des données qui s'en dégagent—admettre forcément l'existence de deux villes ayant, chacune, porté le nom de *Dicaea*: l'une, située dans la Thrace près du *Lac Bistonis*, l'autre, dans la Basse Macédoine; et que, par conséquent, il y avait nécessité absolue, au double point de vue de la géographie et de la numismatique, d'établir, entre elles, une importante distinction.

Il n'est donc pas, d'après cela, inutile que j'indique, en peu de mots, la raison, selon moi, décisive qui me porte à attribuer la médaille ci-dessus décrite sous le numéro 1 à la première plutôt qu'à la dernière de ces deux villes; bien que, pourtant, le style comparativement très-soigné de la pièce en question, la forme particulière

de son carré creux, son poids, bref tous ses caractères intrinsèques ou extrinsèques sembleraient, de prime abord, la rapprocher davantage de la fabrique macédonienne que de celle de la Thrace.

Cette raison, la voici :

Si, après avoir, au préalable, pris la peine de relire et de peser, sans idée préconçue, les divers arguments qui ont été émis à ce sujet, on ne refuse pas de reconnaître, avec moi, qu'*Ichnae* et *Dicaea* de *Macédoine* ne constituent qu'une seule et même ville sous deux noms différents,—en d'autres termes, si le nom de *Dicaea* a remplacé—à une époque que nous ne pouvons préciser—celui, évidemment plus ancien, d'*Ichnae*, comme il est certain que la petite médaille qui nous occupe dénote, par son genre de travail, qu'elle a dû précéder—de 30 ou 40 ans au moins—le didrachme d'*Ichnae* (objectif de ce mémoire), il s'ensuit inévitablement qu'elle ne saurait avoir été frappée ailleurs que dans la Thrace, attendu qu'au moment de son émission, c'est à savoir vers le commencement du V<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C. (date qu'on peut, selon toutes probabilités, lui assigner), la ville d'*Ichnae* signait *ΙΘΑΙΝΑΙ*, et n'avait point, par conséquent, encore changé de nom.

Cette médaille intéressante me suggère plusieurs remarques que je demande la permission de consigner.

Le type du *Bœuf se grattant la tête avec le pied droit de derrière* n'est point du tout—ainsi que, peut-être, on serait tenté de se l'imaginer—un type banal ou commun, bien que, pourtant, il soit loin d'être nouveau dans la numismatique : or, c'est précisément parce qu'il a un caractère de physionomie *sui generis* et parce qu'on ne le rencontre pas souvent, qu'on pourrait—en procédant par voie d'analogie ou de comparaison—s'en servir, dans

une certaine mesure, à l'effet de classer d'autres monnaies anépigraphes dont l'attribution demeure encore plus que douteuse ou tout au moins très-incertaine.

C'est ainsi—pour ne citer que cet exemple—qu'un antiquaire français, Édouard de Cadavène,<sup>1</sup> en donnant à *Érétrie* de l'*Eubée* une petite médaille de son cabinet, munie de ce même type et qui, par bonheur, était accompagné de l'inscription archaïque **ER**, c'est ainsi que cet habile numismatiste a fourni à ceux qui l'ont suivi, plus tard, le moyen du restituer à cette ville *Euboëenne* un certain nombre de monnaies mal à propos classées à des localités qui, par le fait, n'y avaient aucun droit. Grâce à lui, on n'a pas tardé à reconnaître qu'un précieux *tétradrachme* gravé dans le Musée Hunter (Pl. xxviii. No. 20), aussi bien que quelques autres pièces de même espèce, mais de plus petit module, décrites par Mionnet, que ces pièces, dis-je, attribuées d'abord à *Gortyne*, puis à *Élyrus* de l'*Ile de Crète* (Mionnet, Suppl. iv. p. 318, Nos. 150, 151, 152), n'offraient, en réalité, aucun des caractères qui distinguent si particulièrement la fabrication *crétoise*, et qu'il fallait, en conséquence, les rendre à *Érétrie*,<sup>2</sup> dont, au reste, elles portent la lettre initiale, **E** ou **Λ**.

<sup>1</sup> Rec. de Méd. Gr. inéd., p. 216, No. 2 ; Pl. III. fig. 15.

<sup>2</sup> J'en dirai autant des trois petites pièces d'argent que le même Mionnet avait d'abord classées à *Athènes* par cela seul qu'elles y avaient été trouvées et que, plus tard, il crut devoir donner à *Élyrus* à cause, sans doute, du symbole du *polype* qui figure au revers. Il est évident pour moi—et je ne suis pas le seul de cet avis—que ces trois petites médailles n'ont rien à démêler avec le monnayage *crétois* et qu'elles doivent, comme celles dont je viens de parler, être restituées à *Érétrie*. (Voy. Mionnet, tom. xii. p. 113, Nos. 16, 17, 18 ; Suppl. iv. p. 318, Nos. 147, 148, 149.)

De son côté, M. le Baron de Prokesch-Osten, dans son opuscule intitulé "Nichtbekannte Europäisch-Griechische Münzen," p. 94, No. 1, Pl. III. fig. 52, a publié une médaille d'argent

Mais si je partage pleinement l'opinion d'Éd. de Cadalvène relativement à l'attribution qu'il fait de son numéro 2 à *Érétrie*, ainsi qu'aux conséquences qui, tout naturellement, s'en dégagent pour la restitution des diverses monnaies que je citais tout-à-l'heure, je ne suis plus, tant s'en faut, de son avis ni d'accord avec lui en ce qui concerne l'explication particulière de son numéro 1.

J'ai vu cette pièce, j'en ai vu une autre exactement semblable que Mionnet a fait graver d'abord dans son recueil de Planches (xliv., No. 3) sous cette vague indication, *pays incertain*, que depuis il a encore décrite à *Élyrus* (*loc. cit.*, No. 146); et, bien que Cadalvène se soit cru autorisé à affirmer que "l'identité de fabrique entre son numéro 2 et son numéro 1 est manifeste," je prendrai la liberté de contester cette appréciation. J'ai l'intime conviction que ce numéro 1, pas plus, du reste, que l'exemplaire de Mionnet, n'ont été frappés à *Érétrie*. Ils en portent bien le type, cela n'est pas douteux; mais la fabrique—qui, en pareils cas, est et sera toujours le plus

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de moyen module (drachme?) portant, d'un côté, une tête de *Diane* et, de l'autre, *un bœuf se grattant la tête avec le pied de derrière*, médaille qu'il attribue, non à *Gortyne* ou à *Élyrus* mais à *Praesus*. Je me demande sur quoi—la médaille étant anépigraphie—l'antiquaire viennois a pu se fonder, ou quels sont les sérieux motifs qui ont pu le décider à choisir *Praesus* de préférence à toute autre ville de la même île. Quoiqu'il en soit, et bien que je n'aie pour juger du style de cette drachme que la très-faible et très-précaire ressource du dessin donné par l'auteur, je n'hésite pas à déclarer—dussé-je être traité de présomptueux ou même d'ignare—que la fabrique ne m'en paraît pas *crétoise*;—quand, d'autre part, je considère que l'image de *Diane* est celle d'une des divinités qu'on voit le plus souvent figurées sur les monnaies d'*Érétrie*,—que, de plus, cette image s'y trouve jointe à un type aujourd'hui reconnu pour appartenir à cette ville, tout cela me donne fortement lieu de penser que la drachme de M. de Prokesch a, très-probablement, été frappée à *Érétrie*.

sûr des *critères*—n'est plus, à beaucoup près, la même. Or, c'est là, selon moi, un point capital, auquel on n'a pas fait assez attention ; autrement on aurait vu que ces médailles rappellent, par leur aspect d'ensemble et d'une manière tout-à-fait frappante, ce genre particulier de travail, ce mode primitif de procédés techniques qu'on trouve si fréquemment dans la région Thraco-Macédonienne, mais qu'on n'a point encore, que je sache, jusqu'à présent rencontrés dans l'*Ile d'Eubée*. Qu'on prenne la peine de comparer, pendant un instant, l'exemplaire de Cadavène et l'exemplaire de Mionnet avec celui que je publie—lequel porte, avec lui et en toutes lettres, la marque certaine de son origine—on ne tardera pas à se convaincre que, sauf l'absence d'inscription sur les deux premières, ces trois pièces sont identiques et qu'elles ne sauraient être sorties que du même atelier : d'où je suis amené à conclure que la médaille numéro 1 de Cadavène, attribuée par lui à *Érétrie*, ainsi que la pièce de Mionnet donnée mal à propos à *Élyrus*, doivent être restituées à notre *Dicaea de Thrace*.

Peut-être, à ce sujet, va-t-on me demander comment il a pu arriver qu'une ville de Thrace, telle que *Dicaea*, située à une distance géographique aussi éloignée de l'*Ile d'Eubée*, ait eu l'idée de copier servilement un type qui semble, jusqu'à ce jour, n'avoir été employé que par *Érétrie* ?

Notre réponse est très-simple et se résume en ceci :

La ville de *Dicaea* ayant été, suivant l'opinion la plus accréditée, peuplée primitivement par des *Érétriens*<sup>3</sup> chassés de *Corcyre* par le Corinthien *Chersicrate* et, très-

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<sup>3</sup> Il va sans dire que je n'entends parler ici que des faits dont la base est historique, et que je mets de côté la tradition fabuleuse qui, d'après Étienne de Byzance (*loc. cit.*), attribue la fondation de *Dicaea* au mythologique *Dicæos* fils de *Neptune*.

probablement, dans le même temps que *Mendé*, *Potidée*, *Scioné*, *Aphytis* et autres, il était naturel et tout à la fois conforme aux coutumes pratiquées en pareilles circonstances dans la plupart des colonies grecques, que les habitants de *Dicaea*—surtout au débût de leur établissement—préférassent de choisir, pour servir d'empreinte à leurs monnaies, un type qui rappelait directement celui de la mère-patrie et qui, par le fait seul de ce choix si flatteur pour l'orgueil de la métropole, avait en outre l'avantage de resserrer les liens qui devaient réciproquement les unir.

À la vérité, quelques auteurs modernes, notamment R. Rochette (Col. Gr., tom. iii. p. 401) et, à sa suite, Édouard de Cadalvène (*loc. cit.*) interprétant, d'une manière un peu trop large, un passage d'Hérodote (i. 168), ont émis la conjecture que, *peut-être*, la ville de *Dicaea* avait été fondée par *Timésias de Clazomène* après qu'il fut chassé d'*Abdère* par les Thraces ; mais rien, à mon avis, dans ce passage, n'autorise à en tirer une pareille induction : à moins, cependant, qu'on ne veuille supposer que *Timésias*, profitant, pour se relever, de la présence des colons *Érétriens* dans ces parages, se serait joint à leur entreprise et aurait confondu ses intérêts avec les leurs. Quoiqu'il en soit de cette combinaison très-hypothétique, je l'accorde, mais non pas absolument improbable, l'opinion de ceux qui font honneur de la fondation de *Dicaea* aux *Érétriens*, outre qu'elle me semble, de beaucoup, la meilleure et la plus vraie, se trouve, en quelque sorte, notablement confirmée par l'apparition inattendue des trois médailles que je viens de discuter et qui portent, toutes les trois, un type commun avec *Érétrie*.

Les exemples, d'ailleurs, de ce genre d'imitation typique sont loin d'être rares. Il nous suffira de citer celui que nous fournit, comme tout exprès, la voisine immédiate

de *Dicaea*, *Abdère*, laquelle ville d'*Abdère* a si bien et si exactement copié les emblèmes adoptés par sa métropole, *Téos*, qu'aujourd'hui encore les antiquaires sont parfois divisés et se trouvent souvent sérieusement embarrassés quand il s'agit de déterminer leurs monnaies respectives.<sup>4</sup>

Je ne dirai rien du didrachme, à la tête d'*Hercule*, que je publie ici sous le numéro 2; comme ce didrachme n'est, en somme, qu'une variété anépigraphue de celui que possède le British Museum, et qui a été expliqué en son lieu, il ne réclame, par conséquent, aucune observation nouvelle.

FERDINAND BOMPOIS,

Membre honoraire de la Société Numismatique de Londres,  
Membre correspondant de l'Institut Archéologique de Rome,  
&c., &c.

MARZY, Novembre, 1874.

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<sup>4</sup> À cette occasion, je ferai observer qu'il existe de très-rares *octadrachmes* (pour mon compte, je crois que ce sont plutôt des *hexadrachmes* du système olympique) au type du griffon et avec le carré creux au revers, *octadrachmes* ou *hexadrachmes*, selon qu'on voudra les appeler, qu'on persiste encore, dans quelques grandes collections publiques (et quand je dis cela, c'est que je l'ai vu), à attribuer à la ville de *Téos*, bien qu'en réalité tout porte à penser qu'ils ne sauraient appartenir qu'à *Abdère*. Le genre du travail, la forme très-caractéristique du carré creux, et principalement l'épaisseur et la coupe ou poids monétaire de ces médaillons, poids qu'on ne trouve jamais dans l'*Ionie* mais presque exclusivement dans la Thrace et dans la Macédoine, tous ces détails matériels prouvent d'une manière, je crois, incontestable, la vérité de ce que j'avance. Cette opinion, du reste, était aussi celle d'un docte antiquaire, feu M. J. Brandis, dont le monde savant a su, depuis longtemps, apprécier les travaux. (Voy. son livre intitulé "*Das Münz-Mass- und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien*," p. 517, où il a relevé le poids de quatre de ces médaillons. En voici les pesées : 29·50, 29·47, 29·20, 28·96). J'en possède moi-même un exemplaire superbe, provenant de la collection Dupré : il pèse 29·48; qu'on me dise si l'on a, une seule fois, constaté des poids de cette force dans l'*Ionie* !

## XIV.

### JEWISH NUMISMATICS.

BEING A SUPPLEMENT TO THE "HISTORY OF JEWISH COINAGE  
AND MONEY IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS," PUBLISHED  
IN 1864.

#### INTRODUCTION.

TEN years have nearly elapsed since the publication of my work on the "Jewish Coinage," and it seems now a fitting opportunity to examine the various questions which have arisen in connection with this subject during this period. Many numismatists, both foreign and English, have during the past decade contributed to the literature of Jewish coins, and till within a few years the interest in this portion of ancient coins appeared to have revived. Of those numismatists who made this branch their particular study, two are dead—the Abbé Cavedoni and Professor Levy, thus reducing the already limited number of students of Biblical coins.

I propose in this series of papers to lay before English readers the latest views and opinions that have been advanced; and while even now agreeing with M. le Comte de Vogüé that "*le dernier mot n'a pas encore été dit sur la numismatique Judaique*," I am still in hopes that the researches of students since the year 1864 will in any case take their place as important and valuable contributions to the history of Jewish numismatics.



I may add that I have read with attention all the papers on the subject printed since 1864 that I have been able to obtain, and that the matter hereinafter to be given will embrace a general *résumé* of their contents. For the purpose of reference, I shall give in an "Appendix" a list of the works or papers on Jewish coins written since the year 1849, to which I have made frequent reference in the following pages.

§ I. SILVER SHEKELS, HALF SHEKELS, AND COPPER COINS, USUALLY ATTRIBUTED TO SIMON MACCABÆUS.

Every student of Jewish numismatics must be well aware how obstinately, to use Professor Grotefend's expression,<sup>1</sup> M. de Saulcy has maintained that the shekels and half-shekels, together with the copper coinage of similar style, without the names of the issuer should be attributed to the high priest Jaddua, and not, as most other numismatists are of opinion, to Simon Maccabæus. The controversy which arose after the publication of my work in 1864 as shown in papers by writers in all parts of Europe must be still fresh in the minds of those interested in this subject. After the issue of my paper in 1866 on the "Coins of the Two Revolts of the Jews,"<sup>2</sup> very little attention was for several years given to this branch of the science. In the year 1871, however, a paper by M. de Saulcy, written by him in the month of October, 1870, was published in the NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,<sup>3</sup> on which, in the early part of the year 1872, I made a few remarks.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande," 1865, p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., vol. vi. p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xi. p. 235.

<sup>4</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xii. p. 1.

In this paper of De Saulcy's he makes *no mention* of the shekels, etc., nor of their attribution to Simon Maccabæus. So far, then, as De Saulcy was concerned, it seemed as if the question was at rest. How great, then, my astonishment to find and to become acquainted with, *only in the year* 1874, a new theory of De Saulcy's respecting these coins which he had published *as long ago as the year* 1868. As this theory is an important one, it is advisable to at once lay it before English readers.

The work of M. de Saulcy's to which I refer is a pamphlet of about a hundred pages, entitled "*Étude Chronologique des Livres d'Esdras et de Néhémie*," and was published by him in 1868.<sup>5</sup> In this work the whole question of the dates of the reigns of the Persian kings, and of the events during their reigns as recorded in Ezra and Nehemiah, is submitted to critical examination, and it seems that the theories therein set forth by De Saulcy generally disagree with all previous recognised conclusions. It is not necessary for our purpose to re-examine that part of the question here, and I beg to refer the chronological student to De Saulcy's work, and to other writers on this subject.<sup>6</sup> I therefore pass at once to the numismatic portion of my inquiry.

In the seventh chapter of the Book of Ezra and at the eighteenth verse it is written, "And whatsoever shall seem good to thee and to thy brethren to do with the rest

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<sup>5</sup> A. Lévy, libraire-éditeur, 21, Rue Bonaparte, Paris. I am indebted to M. François Lenormant for informing me where I could obtain this volume.

<sup>6</sup> See, *inter alia*, Smith's "Dict. of the Bible;" Smith's "Dict. of Biography;" Kitto's "Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature," 3rd edition, 1870; Clinton, F. H., vol. ii. p. 312; Rev. Canon Rawlinson, The Book of Ezra, in "The Bible Educator," vol. iv. p. 42.

of the silver and the gold, that do after the will of your God."

According to De Saulcy<sup>7</sup> this firman was granted to Ezra by Artaxerxes II. Mnemon, who reigned from B.C. 405 to B.C. 362; and he is of opinion that Ezra and his companions undertook the journey to Jerusalem in B.C. 398 or 397. Most scholars have, however, attributed the issue of this decree to Xerxes (B.C. 485—465), or to his son Artaxerxes I. Longimanus (B.C. 465—425).<sup>8</sup>

As previously stated, I do not propose to enter into an examination of the dates. Let us pass on to De Saulcy's remarks on this verse. De Saulcy's words are as follows:—

"Ce passage me paraît donner le mot de l'énigme soulevée par l'existence des sicles et des demi-sicles Hébraïques. On s'est obstiné, contre toutes les lois de la science numismatique, à classer ces belles et rares monnaies à Simon l'Asmonéen, tandis que je maintenais leur émission au pontificat de Jaddouâ. *Aujourd'hui, sans entrer dans de plus grands détails, j'attribue cette émission à Esdras, et je regarde ces monnaies comme frappées pour les contributions sacrées, avec l'argent de reste dont il vient d'être question, et qui provenait de la générosité du Roi des rois, et des souscriptions volontaires des Juifs de la Babylonie.*"

The italics are mine.

This theory is of so great importance that it is to be regretted that M. de Saulcy did not think it advisable "to enter into fuller detail," or failing this that he has not published his new attribution in an accessible numismatic

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 42. De Saulcy gives the dates of the reign of Artaxerxes II. as B.C. 404 to B.C. 359.

<sup>8</sup> Canon Rawlinson (*op. cit.*) inclines to this latter view.

publication. The important point, however, for us to consider is how far this new theory can be accepted. One French scholar has without hesitation adopted it in the most decisive terms. M. François Lenormant, who is at present engaged on an elaborate and valuable work on "The Phœnician Alphabet"<sup>9</sup>—a work the more valuable as M. Lenormant has evidently studied the writers of all nations—in speaking of the "Primitive Hebrew Alphabet," writes as follows:—<sup>10</sup>

"Pour ce qui est de la troisième colonne, les lettres qu'elle contient sont empruntées aux anciens siècles au flan épais, que je considère comme des monuments de la fin du cinquième siècle ou du commencement du quatrième, et pour lesquels je n'hésite pas à adopter la nouvelle opinion de M. de Saulcy, tendant à les faire regarder comme frappés par Esdras ou par Néhémie. En effet, comme le reconnaîtra tout homme de bonne foi qui a l'habitude de manier et de classer des médailles, les considérations numismatiques de style et de fabrication, qui doivent passer ici en première ligne, ne permettent absolument pas de maintenir l'ancienne attribution à Simon Macchabée, vainement défendue par Monseigneur Cavedoni, le Docteur Levy et M. Madden ; car les pièces sont certainement antérieures de plus de deux siècles. D'un autre côté, les raisons historiques, non moins puissantes, contredisent l'opinion proposée d'abord par M. de Saulcy dans ses 'Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque,' attri-

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<sup>9</sup> "Essai sur la Propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien dans l'Ancien Monde." Vol. i., 1st and 2nd livraison, and vol. ii. 1st livraison (Paris, 1872—3), at present published. The work will be completed in five volumes, and will appear by half-volumes.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 186.

buant les siècles au pontificat de Jaddouâ, contemporain d'Alexandre le Grand. Au point de vue des caractères intrinsèques proprement numismatiques, les anciens siècles ne peuvent pas être séparés des différentes séries de monnaies frappées par les dynastes des cités de Phénicie et de Syrie sous la suzeraineté des Perses."

M. Lenormant then goes on to say that the Macedonian kings and the Seleucidæ were especially jealous of the "droit monétaire," and that the concession of this right to Simon Maccabæus was quite an event; moreover, if Alexander the Great had accorded such a privilege to Jaddua, there would be sure to have been some mention of it in Josephus. This latter statement is however not quite in accordance with the facts before us, for it does not appear that Josephus either makes any mention of the permission granted to Simon Maccabæus and recorded in the Maccabees.

It may not be uninteresting to observe that the writer of the apocryphal book of Esdras<sup>11</sup> quotes the portion of the firman which we are discussing in nearly the same words—"And whatsoever thou and thy brethren will do with the silver and gold, that do, according to the will of thy God;" whilst Josephus<sup>12</sup> gives generally the tenour of the decree as in Ezra, though he makes Xerxes to be the king instead of, as De Saulcy, Artaxerxes Mnemon.

One of the strongest proofs of the probability of M. de Saulcy's new suggestion is that afforded by the papers of Mr. Waddington on "The Right of Coining."<sup>13</sup> This scholar says: "Le droit monétaire était essentiellement

<sup>11</sup> 1 Esdras, viii. 16.

<sup>12</sup> "Antiq." xi. 5, 1.

<sup>13</sup> "Médailles frappées au V<sup>e</sup> siècle en Carie et en Ionie," in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1856, p. 50.

un droit municipal, un droit propre à chaque cité, quelque petite qu'elle fût, et par conséquent les monnaies frappées dans chaque ville étaient marquées de types particuliers, et signées du nom d'un magistrat responsable. Si la ville ou l'État était soumis au pouvoir d'un seul homme, alors des monnaies devaient porter son nom, puisqu'elles étaient émises sous sa responsabilité. Les monuments sont d'accord avec ces principes; il est facile de nommer des villes importantes qui ont fait frapper des monnaies autonomes pendant une longue suite d'années, et sans jamais s'être soustraites au joug persan. Il suffira de citer Tarse, Sidé, Aspendus et les villes lyciennes, dont la numismatique continue sans interruption depuis le commencement du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, jusqu'à la chute de la monarchie persane.

“Mais non seulement les villes émettaient des monnaies; les satrapes aussi, ces lieutenants immédiats du roi, en frappaient et les signaient de leur nom. Pharnabaze a laissé des monnaies frappées dans deux portions très-différentes de l'Asie-Mineure; à Lampsaque d'abord, ou plutôt à Cyzique, villes situées dans sa satrapie; ensuite à Tarse, où il fut envoyé pour conférer avec Conon (398—397). L'exemple de Pharnabaze est important, parceque pendant sa longue carrière, ce satrape garda une fidélité invariable envers son souverain, et ne fut jamais en révolte ni ouverte ni secrète contre lui. Les dynastes de Carie, depuis Hecatomnus jusqu'à Othontopate, ont tous battu monnaie, et il en est de même de beaucoup d'autres satrapes, pour lesquels nous renvoyons le lecteur au savant ouvrage de M. le Duc de Luynes.”

From the statements here given respecting the “droit monétaire” during the Persian rule, it would seem not at all unlikely that the Jews, after Artaxerxes had granted

them their autonomy, commenced to strike money as their neighbours. M. F. Lenormant, as I have previously observed, has no doubt upon the subject, and adds, "un passage du firman délivré à Esdras par Artaxerxe paraît même impliquer virtuellement le droit de monnayage."<sup>14</sup>

I may add that Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, late keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, in a letter to me, writes as follows :—"I see in a recent work of F. Lenormant that he maintains the view which, as you know, I have always held, that the thick shekels and half-shekels must have been struck soon after the return from the Captivity, as they are perfectly analogous with the thick pieces attributed to Tyre or the Phœnician coast of a date about 460 or 470 B.C."

Before, however, accepting off-hand this new theory as the correct one, it will be as well—if for nothing else, for the credit of the many numismatists who have attributed these coins to Simon Maccabæus—to examine three points—1, *the fabric*; 2, *the palæography*, and 3, *the weights* of the pieces in question.

1. *Fabric.* M. de Saulcy himself did not fail to recognise<sup>15</sup> that the style and fabric of the silver shekels did not accord with the copper; but not knowing what to do with the copper, he attributed both to the high priest Jaddua.

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<sup>14</sup> This is the passage already quoted. The reference given by M. Lenormant is to "Nehem. xiii. 18." This is certainly incorrect, and should be to Ezra vii. 18. M. Lenormant has informed me that the remarks of Mr. Waddington have been confirmed and enlarged by the late Dr. Brandis in his work "Das Münz- Mass- und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien." I have been unable to consult a copy of this work.

<sup>15</sup> Rev. Num., 1864, vol. ix. p. 370 *seq.*

Mr. R. S. Poole, the present keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, has expressed himself strongly on this point. He says: <sup>16</sup> "The fabric of the silver coins is so different from that of any other ancient money that it is extremely hard to base any argument on it alone; and the cases of other special classes, as the ancient money of Cyprus, show the danger of such reasoning. . . . We may remark that the forms are too exact, and that apart from style, which we do not exclude in considering fabric, the mere mechanical work is like that of the coins of the Phœnician towns struck under the Seleucidæ."

In this opinion most numismatists have agreed.

2. *Palæography*. There is no palæographic reason why these pieces should not belong to the Persian period.

3. *Weight*. This was the great question on which numismatists have differed from De Saulcy.

The silver shekel weighs 220 grs., giving a talent of 660,000 grs. This is the same as the Eginetan, which appears to be of Phœnician origin. Both the Eginetan and Phœnician standards were disused under Alexander the Great, to whose time De Saulcy assigned these coins. De Saulcy therefore, in assigning these coins to Jaddua, *attributed these pieces to the very period at which it was impossible they could have been issued.*<sup>17</sup>

The silver shekel, according to Bayer,<sup>18</sup> contained a sixth of copper mixed with the silver; and it has been shown, that a similar proportion occurs in the coins of

<sup>16</sup> Smith, "Dict. of the Bible," s. v. *Money*.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. R. S. Poole, in Smith's "Dict. of the Bible," s. vv. *Money and Weights*; F. W. Madden, "Hist. of Jewish Coinage," pp. viii. and 249 seq. A complete *résumé* of this subject is in my paper in the Num. Chron., N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 198.

<sup>18</sup> De Num. Hebr., p. 66.



the last Syrian kings and of the Parthian kings contemporary with Simon Maccabæus.<sup>19</sup>

There was therefore very good ground for rejecting De Saulcy's persistent attribution of the coins to Jaddua, and of assigning them to Simon Maccabæus, during whose government the coins could have been issued, both from historical and numismatic evidence.

As, however, the shekels correspond in weight to the tetradrachm and didrachm of the early Phœnician talent, which was in use in the cities of Phœnicia under Persian rule, there is no reason on this point on which we can repudiate M. de Saulcy's new suggestion.<sup>20</sup>

I fear, however, that the question will still remain a "vexed one." The controversy on these coins has now extended over a period of ninety years, and I myself have been a student of this particular branch for more than ten. I am, however, pleased to have recorded a new suggestion on their classification, which is of far greater value than the attribution previously given by De Saulcy of these pieces to the High Priest Jaddua.

There still, however, remains the question of the copper coins.

M. de Saulcy does not help us on this point.

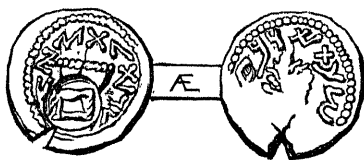
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<sup>19</sup> Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. i. p. xxv.; vol. iii. p. 542; Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.*, vol. ii. pp. 7—9; F. W. Madden, "*Hist. of Jew. Coinage*," p. vii.

<sup>20</sup> For coins of the same weight as the shekel, and which were current under Persian rule, see Mionnet, vol. v. p. 645, Nos. 30 to 40; *Suppl.*, vol. viii. p. 426, Nos. 29 to 35. The full weight of this series of coins appears to be on the following scale:—*Octodrachm*, 440 grs.; *tetradrachm*, 220 grs.; *tridrachm*, 165 grs.; *didrachm*, 110 grs.; *drachm*, 55 grs.; *half-drachm*, 28 grs.; *quarter-drachm*, 14 grs.; *one-eighth drachm*, 7 grs. I have to thank Mr. Head for kindly weighing these coins for me, and for answering the numerous enquiries on several points on which I have required information.

Are they also to be attributed to Ezra? or are they to be assigned to the period of the first revolt, as proposed by the Padre Garrucci? <sup>21</sup>

As I have previously stated, it was always felt that there was a great difficulty in classing the silver and copper coins together. Mr. John Evans, a distinguished numismatist, as long ago as 1857 recognised this fact. He says: <sup>22</sup> "I must confess that I very much doubt the propriety of classing these copper coins with the shekels, both from the formation of the  $\omega$ , and from the nature of the inscriptions, which so closely resemble some of those on the coins of Simon Barcochab." The Padre Garrucci, in an admirable article on "The Coins of the Revolts of the Jews," <sup>23</sup> as will be remembered, attributed them boldly to the period of the first revolt, a theory which in the year 1866 I did my best to demolish. I see no reason at the present time to alter my views, which will be found fully set forth in a paper on the "Coins of the Two Revolts of the Jews," <sup>24</sup> assigning these coins to the Maccabæan period; and the curious coin in the British Museum, counter-marked with an elephant, would seem to put the seal on this opinion. <sup>25</sup>



<sup>21</sup> "Dissertazioni Archeologiche di vario Argomento," vol. ii. p. 81, Rome, 1865.

<sup>22</sup> Num. Chron., vol. xx. p. 12.

<sup>23</sup> "Dissertazioni Archeologiche di vario Argomento," vol. ii. p. 81. Rome, 1865.

<sup>24</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., vol. vi. p. 36.

<sup>25</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., vol. vi. p. 61.

Before, however, quitting this portion of our subject, I have to call attention to some new theories that have recently been laid before the Biblical student.

There is a monthly publication issued by Messrs. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, entitled the *Bible Educator*, and edited by the Rev. E. H. Plumptre, M.A., vicar of Bickley. In this work there has been appearing from time to time a series of papers on "Measures, Weights, and Coins of the Bible," by Mr. F. R. Conder, C.E.<sup>26</sup> On the question of the "measures and weights," as here discussed, I do not propose to enter, feeling that one section—the weights—could be better examined by Mr. R.-S. Poole, who has made this question his special study.

The portion of Mr. Conder's paper on which I propose to make a few remarks is that relating to Jewish money.<sup>27</sup>

As a sort of *lever du rideau*, Mr. Conder objects to the readings of several of the inscriptions of the coins as they have been usually accepted, considering them to have been "mistranslated by numismatologists."

1. The inscription "Shekel Israel."

This, Mr. Conder says,<sup>28</sup> "has been taken to mean that the piece was a shekel. But this legend is also found on small silver coins of about sixty grains' weight, corresponding to the *garmes*, or sixth part of a shekel, of the Talmud; so that it cannot be taken to be an actual statement of value."

With reference to this point Mr. Conder again writes:<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Vol. ii. pp. 278, 380; vol. iii. pp. 10, 69, 96, 175, 222, 238, 330, 347, 361; vol. iv. p. 27.

<sup>27</sup> Vol. iii. pp. 97—100, 175—180.

<sup>28</sup> "Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 176.

<sup>29</sup> "Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 71.

"There exists a Jewish silver coin, specimens of which weigh 54 and 57 grains, which bears on the obverse the words 'Shekel Israel,' although its value cannot have been more than that of the *garmes*, or sixth part of the shekel, which no doubt it is."

2. The inscription שמעון or שמעוני (for שמעון, *Simon*).

Speaking of this word, Mr. Conder says,<sup>30</sup> "Numismatists have taken the word *Shemo*, which the *Tosapha* explains to mean 'coin,' as a 'proper name.' The word, or its derivations, occurs repeatedly in the Pentateuch and in the Prophets, and is explained as referring to money in several places. It is first used in the history of Abraham (Gen. xxiii. 15) where it is translated 'I have heard' by the LXX., and 'hearken unto me' by St. Jerome, and consequently by the authorised version. With this interpretation it becomes necessary to supply a word (in italics) to make sense, while the sentence contains an unnecessary phrase. But the sense of the word *Shemo*, attributed to it by the custodians of the law, makes a simple sentence, 'My lord, the land is worth to me 400 shekels of silver.'"

3. The inscription לחרות *Lacheruth* (deliverance).

Of this word Mr. Conder writes as follows :<sup>31</sup> "*Leheruth*, another of these words, has been translated 'redemption.'<sup>32</sup> There are no points on the coins. We are

<sup>30</sup> "Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 176.

<sup>31</sup> "Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 176.

<sup>32</sup> The word לחרות has not, as far as I am aware, been translated *redemption*, but *deliverance*. The term לבאלת signifies *redemption*. I endeavoured to show (Num. Chron., N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 69) that the coins on which the year is written at length, and on which the words לבאלת and חרות occur, belong to the First Revolt of the Jews, and that coins with no year or with the year in cipher and the word לחרות belong to the

thus reduced to consider the letters alone. The word *heruth* occurs in Exod. xxxii. 16, where it is translated 'insculpta.' Thus we have three names for money, each conveying a distinct idea—*shemo*, *signum*, that of its legality or authorisation; *shekel*, that of its weight; and *heruth*, that of its stamp."

4. The inscription לְגַאֲלָה *Ligullath* (redemption).

With respect to this word Mr. Conder writes: <sup>33</sup> "The word *ligullath* has also been translated 'redemption;' and this is one of the reasons for the attribution of the coins in question to periods of revolt. The word, when it occurs in the Pentateuch (Lev. xxv. 24, 32), relates to the return of alienated property to the owners on the seventh year. An almost identical word, in the Second Book of Kings and in the book of Jeremiah, is translated 'captivity.' The idea common to the two passages is that which is also etymologically correct—namely, cycle. It is on these *ligullath* coins that dates are found invariably, hitherto, under the number seven. It is our conclusion that the reference is to the cycle of the weeks of years; whether to the year of the week, or to the week of the jubilee, or to the jubilee period itself, in which the coin was struck. When we remember the extremely simple sign by means of which we can identify the year in which any piece of English plate has been 'hall-marked,' it seems more than probable that the date of the *ligullath* coins was no less intelligible to the Jewish silversmith, than our own stamps are to his successor of the present day."

With respect to the statement in paragraph 1, I can

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Second Revolt, but to that question I shall refer in a later portion of this series of papers.

<sup>33</sup> "Bible Educator," voi. iii. p. 176.

only say that I am not aware of the existence of any genuine coins weighing about 60 grs. or 54 and 57 grs., and bearing the legend "Shekel Israel," nor do I believe that any such exist.<sup>33a</sup>

As regards the theories in the remaining paragraphs, they are so entirely beyond my comprehension, that I must content myself—and I hope my readers, too—by simply leaving them as quoted.

I may now pass on to the "classification" of the coins as proposed by Mr. Conder.

1. The coins of Eleazar the priest (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," pp. 162-164), which have been assigned to the Eleazar of the first revolt of the Jews, are considered by Mr. Conder to be *the earliest known Jewish coins*.

On this point Mr. Conder writes:<sup>34</sup> "The earliest known Jewish coins, however, so far tally with the account of the Talmud, as fully to confirm its substantial accuracy. They bear on the obverse the name of a high-priest, and on the reverse a symbol of the temple or of the city. The words Jerusalem, Israel, and Zion occur on other coins, and on one bearing the name of 'Eleazar the Priest' on the obverse, occurs the word 'Israel' on the reverse. The only sovereign pontiff who bore the name of Eleazar, after the time of the son of Aaron, was the 44th in the series, who was the brother

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<sup>33a</sup> The coin to which Mr. Conder refers, said to weigh 63 grains, is the property of the Rev. Canon Tristram, and is figured on p. 152 of Mr. Conder's little book, "The Child's History of Jerusalem." (Isbister & Co. 1874.) This information is supplied by Mr. Conder himself ("The Academy," Oct. 31, 1874). It however appears from Mr. J. Evans' statement ("The Academy," Nov. 14, 1874) that the coin weighs 45 grains and not 63 grains, and does not read "Shekel Israel," and moreover that it is a *forgery*.

<sup>34</sup> "Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 98.

of Simon the Just, and the high priest under whose authority the Septuagint version of the law was made. Eleazar was not, what the Mishna calls the 'Messiah' or anointed priest, but the 'priest clad with many garments,' or acting high priest, during the minority of his nephew, or more probably grand-nephew, Onias II. This explains why the word 'high' does not occur on his coins, as it does on those of the Asmonean pontiffs. . . . Thus there seems no reason to doubt the age of the coins of Eleazar, the spelling of which is also of an extremely ancient and obsolete character."

Mr. Conder gives woodcuts of the copper coin of Eleazar (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 164, No. 3), and of the silver coin (Madden, p. 162, No. 2), which bears also the name of *Simon*.

On these figures Mr. Conder remarks: "The upper one is a copper *shemun*, bearing on the obverse the seven-branched palm-tree, with the legend אלעזר הכהן (Eleazar the Priest) inscribed in Phœnician or Old Hebrew letters, but read in the Greek method (from left to right) on the field.<sup>35</sup> On the reverse is a cluster of grapes with the legend, in letters of the same type: 'First year of release, Israel.' "

"The lower one is a silver half *righia*, or three-eighth part of a shekel. On the obverse is an *ænochoe*, one of the sacred vessels used for libations, with the legend in old Hebrew, 'Eleazar the Priest.' On the reverse is the word שמוע, *shemo*, 'coin.' The occurrence of this word on an eponymous coin or piece of money, bearing the

<sup>35</sup> There is, however, a specimen in the collection of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, published by him in the Numismatic Chronicle (N.S., vol. iv. 1864, p. 179), on which the legend reads in the usual way.

name of a sovereign, is inexplicable, according to the views of those who suppose this ancient word to mean the name of a man."

2. *To the time of Alexander the Great*, Mr. Conder assigns the copper coins bearing the name of *Simon* on one side, and the legend *Lacheruth Jerusalem* (The deliverance of Jerusalem) on the other, now attributed by me to Simon Bar-cohab;<sup>36</sup> also the coins of the *third* year (and, I suppose, the *second* also, but not so stated), usually attributed to the time of the revolt under Nero (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 180).

Mr. Conder then gives<sup>37</sup> the engravings of "two copper coins of undetermined date, which appear to have formed a portion of the *maaser sheni* money, or of that used for the *korban*."

Of these Mr. Conder says: "The larger coin is an *assarion* or quarter *gera*. So many varieties of this coin exist, differing only in minute particulars, that it is evident that the type must have been permanently employed, as sacred money, for a long series of years. The beauty and force of the treatment of the vine-leaf on the obverse are remarkable, and point to a state of art not very far removed from that of the time of Alexander the Great. The legend is *הררת ירושלם* (*sic*) (*Hereth Irusalem*), 'stamp of Jerusalem.' On the reverse is the seven-branched palm, with the word *shemou* שמוע 'coin.'

"The small coin is a *shemun*, which bears the mark of very remote antiquity. It is extremely rare. Around the vine-leaf, on the obverse, is the legend *הררת זיון* (*sic*) (*Heruth Ziun*), the letter *zain* being used instead of the

<sup>36</sup> Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 172 *seq.*; Num. Chron., N.S., 1866, vol. vi. p. 63.

<sup>37</sup> "Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 97.



ordinary *tsaddi*, and the letter *vau* being used as a *mater lectionis* or pronounced vowel, which indicates a period of history long before the introduction of the 'points.' The use of the word *Zion*, instead of *Jerusalem*, is also rare on the coins, although it is of frequent occurrence in the First Book of Maccabees. On the obverse is a vessel which may be identified as the *kupha*, or covered vase, in which the incense used for the offering was carried into the sanctuary by the priest. It was made of gold, and held a *tarcab* or three *cabi*. Only two out of the sacred vessels are said to have been provided with *opercula* or lids. The legend שנת שלוש (*Sheneth Shelush*), 'third year,' indicates a year of the week on which the second tithes were given to the poor, and the money in which they were paid was not sacred. The coin in question, therefore, probably was part of the *korban* or Temple money . . . .

"Dr. Levi argues that certain obscure expressions in the 'Tosaphta' ('Cod. de Decimis Secundis,' cap. i. mis. 5), as to money that was illegal for sacred dues, denote coins that were struck during the last two years of the Jewish war and during the short-lived revolt of Bar-cohebas. Thus, in spite of the extreme improbability of the issue of a complicated coinage by leaders who were little more than bandits, more than thirty per cent. of the extant coins of Jewish origin have been ascribed to personages who can only be termed imaginary coiners, and limited to eight or nine years out of a period of more than two centuries."

3. The shekels (and, I presume, the half-shekels and copper coins, but not so stated), ascribed by M. de Saulcy for nearly twenty years to the High-Priest Jaddua, by most numismatists, English and foreign, for nearly a cen-

tury to Simon Maccabæus, by M. de Saulcy since the year 1868 (though not discovered by me till 1874) to the time of Ezra, are now considered by Mr. Conder to be representations of the "Jerusalem money of the Talmud."<sup>38</sup> Mr. Conder couples with them the coins with the type of the lyre and the legend *Simon*, usually attributed to Simon Bar-cochab.

Let us see what Mr. Conder has to say on these points.<sup>39</sup>

"A group of coins yet remains to be described which includes all the known specimens of Jewish silver money, consisting of twenty-eight types, together with seventeen in copper. With two exceptions, these coins bear no name of high-priest or king. Many of them have numbers, which have been taken for dates; but none of which are higher than four.

"Four words occur as legend or inscription on these coins. The most frequent is one which is written as *Shemo*, and also as *Shemonu*, with the three last letters variously arranged. They have been ascribed to Simon Maccabæus and to two other Simons, viz., the son of Gioras, the bandit, and the son of Gamaliel, who was President of the Sanhedrim at the time of the destruction of the Temple. They have been also attributed to Bar-chochbas, who has been for that purpose accommodated with

<sup>38</sup> It is true that Prof. Ewald, a distinguished scholar *but not a numismatist*, has also assigned the shekels, &c., to the period of the first of the two great Roman wars (Gött. Gel. Anz., No. 65, 1865, pp. 641—655, and "Königl. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen, No. 8, 1855, quoted by Cavedoni, Bibl. Num., vol. ii. p. xix), but no one has yet consented to accept his theories, or, indeed, deemed them worthy of long argument. (F. W. Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. v. note 5).

<sup>39</sup> "Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 176.

the name of Simon by a gratuitous hypothesis. Thus, in a coinage numbering one hundred and forty-three types, and ranging over two hundred and eight years, no fewer than forty-five distinct mintages are attributed to, at most, eight or nine years, which were either the earliest or the latest, and most troubled, of the entire period."

Mr. Conder then continues:—<sup>40</sup>

"We thus consider this large and interesting group of coins to be no other than the 'Jerusalem money' of the Talmud—coinage issued at Jerusalem for the requirements of the poll-tax and the second tithe, bearing in one instance the name of the High-Priest Eleazar,<sup>41</sup> in others the authorization of the *nasi*, or President of the Senate, but all marked with the name of either the city or the people, and issued at dates, not yet determined, contemporaneously with the civil coinage of foreign monarchs, and possibly with that of Asmonean and Idumean princes. They accord with the descriptions given by Maimonides, Abarbanel, and other writers, of the *tebhairim*, or sacred half-shekels, which are described as bearing an urn, with the inscription 'Shekel Israel,' and the flowering rod of Aaron, with the legend 'Jerusalem the Holy.' Both emblems and both inscriptions occur on existing specimens of this very interesting group of coins.

"The smaller coin [viz., that with the lyre and the word

<sup>40</sup> "Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 176.

<sup>41</sup> I do not know to what coin of Eleazar it is that Mr. Conder alludes, unless it be to the silver coin of this priest (Madden, "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 162, No. 1). It will be remembered, as I have previously stated, that Mr. Conder attributes the copper coins of Eleazar and the silver one with the name "Simon" (Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 164, No. 3, and p. 162, No. 2) to Eleazar, brother of Simon the Just, and the high-priest under whose authority the Septuagint version of the Law was made!

*Simon*] is a specimen of the *thumen*, or eighth part of a Shekel. On the obverse is the *kinnur*, or *cithara*, one of the five kinds of musical instruments employed in the daily service of the Temple. The legend (when complete) was 'Stamp of Jerusalem.' On the obverse is the word *Shemnou* in a wreath. The specimen weighs 40 grs. troy.

"The larger coin [viz., the shekel of the year 3] is a *righia*, or three-quarter shekel. This coin was legalised towards the close of the Jewish polity as the Temple shekel, the annual payment of each Israelite being reduced, after long dispute, to a half *righia*. On the obverse is a three-flowered rod, with the legend 'Jerusalem the Holy.' On the reverse is the 'Cos,' or goblet, one of the vessels employed in the daily service of the Temple, with the legend 'Shekel Isral,' and the mark  $\aleph$  (year 3). The boldness of the letters is such as to resemble the later rather than the earlier examples of the dated series of royal coins. The specimen weighs 228 grs. troy. Both the coins are silver."

To this long extract about the shekels, it may be added that Mr. Conder is of opinion "that the *stater* found in the mouth of the fish must have been the silver *righia*, which was then the lawful Temple money."<sup>42</sup>

4. The attribution of coins to John Hyrcanus and other Asmonæan princes is not disputed, nor that of coins to the princes of the Idumæan dynasty, with the exception of the remarkable little coin suggested by the late Cavedoni to belong to Agrippa II.<sup>43</sup>

Of this coin Mr. Conder says:<sup>44</sup>—"There is in the British Museum a Jewish coin which appears to bear a date only

<sup>42</sup> "Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 180.

<sup>43</sup> Madden, "Hist of Jew. Coinage," p. 120.

<sup>44</sup> "Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 99.

two years posterior to that of the Rosetta stone. . . . It is a small copper coin, with the word *chalcos* (meaning copper money) written in Greek letters on one side, and an anchor-like emblem on the other, with the Greek letters **E. T. P. K.** The coin has been assigned by Cavedoni to Agrippa II.; but **P. K.** certainly stands for 120, and it does not seem possible to refer such a date to any era but that of the Seleucidæ. The year 120 of that reckoning was the thirty-third year of Antiochus the Great, who was then supreme in Syria and Palestine. Onias II. was then high-priest. Whether this be the actual date of the coin in question or not, it possesses extreme interest from the fact of bearing the name of those coins which St. Mark says (Mark xii. 41) that Christ watched the crowd casting into the treasury, when many wealthy persons cast in many."

In this case Mr. Conder has misread the date, which on the coin referred to is **R K**, and *not* **PK**. The latter certainly stands for 120, but the former as certainly represents 26.<sup>45</sup>

I have quoted largely from Mr. Conder's papers, but I trust not unnecessarily, and the quotations that I have given are, I think, more than sufficient to show any numismatist that his theories are of the most extraordinary kind, and totally opposed to the fundamental rules of numismatic science. If Mr. Conder had studied the Talmud *less*, and the coins *more*, he might perhaps have arrived at some satisfactory conclusion. As it is, he has entirely ignored type, fabric, history, palæography, and chronology. Mr. Conder is an example (of which we may be thankful there are very few) of the individual who

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<sup>45</sup> Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. iv. p. 383.

imagines that the *science* of any particular branch of numismatics can be attained by simply studying a book on the subject, who has no previous numismatic experience, and who does not care to inquire if any new matter may or may not have been given to the world since the issue of the work that he may be perusing. This latter point is patent in Mr. Conder's case, for he speaks (vol. iii. p. 100) of the coin of Alexandra as unique, not knowing that later I rejected it,<sup>46</sup> and asserts (*loc. cit.*) that none of the Asmonæan coins have been ascertained to bear any date, when magnificent specimens of the coins of Antigonos, with the dates "year 1" and "year 2" are known to be in existence.<sup>47</sup>

It is, however, as a *whole*, that I would wish to protest against the arguments in Mr. Conder's articles. Why Mr. Plumptre should have accepted this series of papers, without first ascertaining the competency of the author to write on the numismatic portion thereof, is to me surprising,<sup>48</sup> and I cannot but express my regret—a regret which I am sure will be shared by all my colleagues in numismatic science—that such opinions as set forth by Mr. Conder should have been printed in a publication, which it may be presumed from its title, "The Bible Educator," was intended to serve for the *education of the people*.<sup>48a</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1865, vol. v. p. 204. I shall allude to this later.

<sup>47</sup> Rev. H. C. Reichardt, Num. Chron., N.S., vol. iv., 1864, p. 177; F. W. Madden, art. *Money*, Kitto's "Bibl. Cyc.," 3rd edit.

<sup>48</sup> It may be mentioned that Mr. Conder submitted a paper on this subject to the Editors of the Numismatic Chronicle, which they felt compelled to decline with thanks.

<sup>48a</sup> Since this was written my attention has been called to a correspondence in the *Academy* (September 5, 12, 19; October 24, 31) on "Spurious Hebrew Coins," an anony-

## § II. COINS OF THE ASMONÆAN FAMILY.

## A. SIMON MACCABÆUS.

B.C. 143—B.C. 135.

In the previous section I have already given full particulars of the novel attribution of the shekels, etc., to the high-priest Ezra, and I have also given it as my opinion that the copper shekels should still be retained to Simon Maccabæus. Simon's government commenced at the close of B.C. 143, and in the fourth year of Simon's pontificate, *i.e.*, B.C. 139, Antiochus VII. Sidetes granted to him the permission to coin money in the well-known and oft-quoted passage of 1 Maccabees. The year B.C. 139 would then be the fourth year of Simon, and the coins bear the *mark of the fourth year*, and were consequently issued at this time. This would seem to be corroborated from the fact that in the same year of the permission being granted to Simon, Antiochus "brake all the covenants which he had with him afore" (1 Maccab., xv., 10—25). I am, therefore, of opinion that the "fourth

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mous article bearing this title having appeared in that paper of September 5th. The collection of coins condemned by Mr. Conder *ex cathedrâ*, "formed part of a hoard of a hundred shekels lately found near Jericho, some of which, including those in question, were purchased by the late Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, and the remainder by M. Ganneau. They had been deposited in an earthen pot, the cover of which had in some manner been secured with lead, and with them was found a gold seal with a gem on which wheat-ears are engraved, the whole circumstances being such as to afford no ground for suspicion" (J. Evans, *Academy*, September 12th). They are twenty-four in number, dated 1, 2, 3, and 4, five of which bear the date 4. This is a great acquisition. They were placed some time since in the charge of the keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, and since the death of Mr. Drake have remained in his custody.

year" on the copper coins refers to the fourth year of Simon's reign.

### B. JOHN HYRCANUS.

B.C. 135—B.C. 106.

Nineteen varieties of the coins of John Hyrcanus were published by M. de Saulcy, in 1871.<sup>49</sup> On the question of the attribution of coins to this prince there has never been any doubt. The only difficulty that has arisen is the interpretation of the word חבר. De Saulcy translated it "friend," Cavedoni, "people," Levy, "confederation," and Reichardt, "doctor or learned man." As regards this latter interpretation, I have already stated<sup>50</sup> that I did not think John Hyrcanus or his predecessors would call themselves learned men in contradistinction to those that were not so, and that I preferred retaining the interpretation of Dr. Levy—"confederation."

### C. JUDAS ARISTOBULUS.

B.C. 106—B.C. 105.

Coins of this prince, formerly attributed by De Saulcy to Judas Maccabæus, are now recognised by him, with other numismatists, as belonging to Judas Aristobulus.

The only difficulty that has arisen here is the reading, גדול or גלול. Some important observations on this question, by Dr. Grotefend, were given by me in 1865,<sup>51</sup> and it is more than probable that the correct form is גדול (*Gadol*). On the seven varieties published by De Saulcy

<sup>49</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xi. p. 236.

<sup>50</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1864, vol. iv. p. 178, *note*.

<sup>51</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., vol. v. p. 343.



in 1871,<sup>52</sup> there may be found כהן גדול (*Cohen Gadol*) and *not* כהן גלול (*Cohen Galul*).

D. ALEXANDER JANNÆUS.

B.C. 105—B.C. 78.

The coinage of Alexander Jannæus was one of the most numerous in the whole series of the coins of the Asmonæan princes, and the variety of money adopted by him has been the cause of much dispute among scholars of this question.

His coins have consequently been arranged by various numismatists in the following manner:—

BY DR. LEVY.<sup>53</sup>

*First Coinage.*—Copper coins with Hebrew inscription “Jonathan the High-Priest, and the confederation of the Jews.” Type: *Obv.*—The above legend within a wreath. *Rev.*—Two cornua-copiæ and a poppy-head.

*Second Coinage.*—Copper coins, with bilingual inscriptions. Hebrew, “Jehonathan, the King;” Greek, “Alexander, the King.” Types: *Obv.*—The Hebrew legend and a flower or palm-branch or star with eight rays. *Rev.*—The Greek legend round an anchor, or no legend and a flower.

*Third Coinage.*—Copper coins, with Hebrew inscription, “Jehonathan the High-Priest, and the Jews.” Type: *Obv.*—The above legend within a wreath. *Rev.*—Two cornua-copiæ and a poppy-head.

<sup>52</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., 1871, vol. xi. p. 238; cf. F. W. Madden, Num. Chron., N.S., 1872, vol. xii. p. 2.

<sup>53</sup> “Jüdische Münzen,” p. 57 seq.; F. W. Madden, “Hist. of Jew. Coinage,” p. 65.

By MR. R. S. POOLE,<sup>54</sup> NEARLY WHOLLY ADOPTED BY  
F. W. MADDEN.<sup>55</sup>

*First Coinage.*—Copper coins, with bilingual inscriptions. Hebrew, "Jehonathan, the King;" Greek, "Alexander, the King." Types as second coinage of Dr. Levy.

*Second Coinage.*—Coins with Hebrew inscription, "Jonathan, the High-Priest, and the Confederation of the Jews." Type as first coinage of Dr. Levy.

By F. W. MADDEN.<sup>56</sup>

*First Coinage.*—Copper coins, with bilingual inscriptions. Type as second coinage of Dr. Levy.

*Second Coinage.*—Copper coins, with Hebrew inscription, "Jonathan the High-Priest, and the Confederation of the Jews." Type as first coinage of Dr. Levy.

*Third Coinage.*—Copper coins, with the inscription, "Jehonathan the High-Priest, and the Jews." Type as third coinage of Dr. Levy.

By M. DE SAULCY.<sup>57</sup>

*First Coinage.*—Pontifical coins, with the name יהונתן, or what is perhaps more probable, the bilingual coins with the flower.

*Second Coinage.*—The coins above were withdrawn from circulation and re-struck, the purely pontifical type with the name ינתן being applied to them, and perhaps the pontifical type with the form יהונתן.

<sup>54</sup> Art. *Money*, in Dr. Smith's "Dict. of the Bible."

<sup>55</sup> "Hist. of Jewish Coinage," p. 66.

<sup>56</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 66; Num. Chron., N.S., vol. v. 1865, p. 205.

<sup>57</sup> Rev. Num., 1864, vol. ix. p. 16 of the *tirage à part*; F. W. Madden, Num. Chron., N.S., vol. v. 1865, p. 203.

*Third Coinage.*—The bilingual coins, with the star.

The attribution of M. de Saulcy was based on the assumption that a coin of Alexandra, the wife of Alexander Jannæus, existed, having the type of the "anchor and star." I shall revert to this coin in speaking of Alexandra.

The theory of De Saulcy was considered by me untenable,<sup>58</sup> and after reconsidering the question, I do not see sufficient reason to make any alteration in my arrangement.

Several varieties of the coins of Alexander Jannæus were published by De Saulcy, in 1871.<sup>59</sup>

#### E. ALEXANDRA.

B.C. 78—B.C. 69.

The coin of Alexandra given by me in my book, and on which De Saulcy, as above stated, based his arrangement of the coins of Alexander Jannæus, was considered by me, when afterwards reconsidering the question, to be a myth, and not to exist.<sup>60</sup> I at the same time stated in a note that I had been informed by M. de Saulcy that, "Dans un farrage de monnaies antiques qui vient de m'arriver de Jérusalem, j'ai eu la bonne fortune de trouver un P. B. d'Alexandra portant de deux côtés l'ancre des Séleucides et la légende ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ; c'est une très jolie inédite; mais elle est malheureusement en bien mauvais état de conservation." The italics are mine. I at the same time stated that I had written to M. de Saulcy to ask him if it was possible for me to see

<sup>58</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., vol. v. 1865, p. 205.

<sup>59</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xi. p. 238.

<sup>60</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., vol. v. 1865, p. 204.

the coin, either by the hands of one of his friends visiting England or of M. Feuardent. To this appeal I never received any written reply, but shortly afterwards I discovered that I had been answered in the following words,<sup>61</sup>

“M. Madden se plaint, en estropiant le français et l'orthographe d'une lettre à lui adressée par moi, de ce que, lui ayant annoncé la découverte d'une nouvelle pièce d'Alexandra, je n'ai pas répondu à la demande qu'il me fit immédiatement et avec un sans-façon remarquable, de lui envoyer la pièce en question. *Permis à lui de trouver mon silence extraordinaire, mais permis à moi de trouver sa demande non moins extraordinaire.*”

The italics are mine. The original requires no comment.<sup>62</sup>

I am not aware that since this any allusion to a coin of Alexandra has been made by any numismatist; but it will not have been forgotten that I mentioned earlier in this paper that Mr. Conder had made some remarks on this piece. Mr. Conder writes<sup>63</sup>: “A coin very similar to one of the bilingual pieces of Alexander I. bears the name of ‘Alexandra the Queen,’ his widow. This coin is extremely rare, having been considered unique, till Canon Tristram obtained a second in 1872.”

Upon reading this I wrote to Canon Tristram, asking him for information respecting this piece. This gentleman—so far acting differently from M. de Saulcy—immediately

<sup>61</sup> *Revue Archéologique*, May, 1866, p. 336.

<sup>62</sup> M. de Saulcy the previous year (1864) also “se plaint,” and for a similar cause. He writes (*Rev. Num.*, 1864, p. 24 of *tirage à part*), “J’ai fait prier par un ami commun le Rév. Reichardt de me gratifier de deux bonnes empreintes des pièces qu’il possède et qui portent ces deux dates, que j’ai suspectées jadis. Je les attends toujours,” &c.

<sup>63</sup> “*Bible Educator*,” vol. iii. p. 100.

kindly sent me the piece itself to examine, stating in his letter that "if his coin was not the same as the one at p. 72 of my book, he was much deceived." I submitted the coin to careful examination, and came to the conclusion that it was a piece of Alexander Jannæus of the star and anchor type similar to that engraved in my book, p. 66, No. 4.

Our position, then, has not advanced since 1865. No coins have as yet been discovered bearing the name of Alexandra, the Queen.

#### F. HYRCANUS II.

B.C. 69—B.C. 65.

The following coin has been attributed by M. de Saulcy to Hyrcanus II.<sup>64</sup> :—

*Obv.*— . ΑΣΙΑΕΩΣ. Anchor.

*Rev.*— . . בן חמ In the field, a star.

His words are :—"Ce fragment de légende ne peut évidemment se compléter qu'en lisant יהוחנן המלך. Jusqu'à plus ample informé, j'attribue cette rare monnaie à Jean Hyrcan II., et à la période de royauté de ce prince comprise entre les années 69 à 66, ou 63 à 57."

Shortly after the publication of this coin I pointed out<sup>65</sup> that the word Hammelek on the reverse was supplied from the two letters . . . חמ, and that unless the מ was so clearly defined as to leave no doubt, the letters might equally well be . . . חכ, the original letters being somewhat alike. In this case the word would be חכחן *Hakkohen*.

<sup>64</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xi. 1871, p. 242.

<sup>65</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xii. 1872, p. 2.

I shall make further allusion to this coin under "Hyr-canus II. re-established."

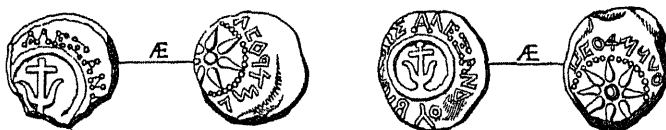
G. ALEXANDER II.

B.C. 65—B.C. 49.

Some small copper coins have been attributed to this prince by Cavedoni, Levy, and myself.<sup>66</sup>

De Saulcy<sup>67</sup> raised some objections to this attribution, but concluded his remarks as follows:—"Et pourtant il semble à première vue assez difficile d'admettre que ces petites monnaies barbares reviennent à Alexandre Jannæus. Une fois de plus nous sommes condamnés à nous incliner devant la brutalité d'un fait matériel."

The Rev. H. C. Reichardt shortly after published<sup>68</sup> two small coins, of which the cuts are here given, and attributed them to Alexander II.



They are remarkable from having the Greek name *Alexander* repeated in Hebrew characters (עלצדרעש *Alexadras*, or עלכצדרעש, *Alekwadras*) instead of the Jewish name of the issuer of this coin.

M. de Saulcy more recently<sup>69</sup> described some small pieces, which he found himself unable to positively attribute: "Est-ce Alexandre Jannée? Est-ce Alex-

<sup>66</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 75.

<sup>67</sup> Rev. Num., 1864, vol. ix., p. 18 of *tirage à part*.

<sup>68</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., vol. iv. 1864, p. 175; cf. F. W. Madden, Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xii. 1872, p. 3.

<sup>69</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xi. 1871, p. 239, Nos. 42, 43.

andre II.? Je ne saurais le dire et je laisse à de plus habiles le soin de le décider."

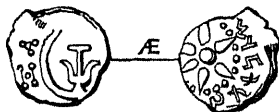
I am, however, at the present time disposed to believe that the type adopted by Alexander Jannæus was perpetuated during the subsequent reigns, an opinion also inclined to by M. de Saulcy.<sup>70</sup>

No coins can, therefore, be attributed to Alexander II.

### H. HYRCANUS II. (*re-established*).

B.C. 47—B.C. 40.

The Rev. H. C. Reichardt has attributed <sup>71</sup> a rare coin to Hyrcanus II., and considers it may have been issued after his restoration.



It is somewhat similar to the coin above described under "Hyrcanus II.," and attributed to this prince by De Saulcy.

It will be observed that on the obverse there are the letters ΞΑ (or ΣΑ), and on the reverse [הורקנוס].

On this coin, as well as on that published by De Saulcy, I have already, in a previous paper,<sup>72</sup> made some observations which I here repeat. "The important question to decide is the correct reading of the Greek

<sup>70</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xi. 1871, p. 242; F. W. Madden, Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xii. 1872, p. 3.

<sup>71</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., vol. iv. 1864, p. 176.

<sup>72</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xii. 1872, p. 3.

letters on the obverse. If Mr. Reichardt be correct in his reading,  $\Xi A$  (or  $\Sigma A$ ), and M. de Saulcy in his,  $\Lambda \Sigma I - \Lambda \epsilon \Omega \Sigma$ , then the complete reading may be  $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ}$ . If it is not to be so interpreted, does De Saulcy suppose that  $\text{ΥΡΚΑΝΟΥ}$  is the word to be supplied? ”

Since this was written M. de Saulcy has published<sup>73</sup> some curious pieces, which, at first sight, would seem to belong to John Hyrcanus, but which, from the fact that the Count de Vogüé has in his possession a rare piece, reading  $\text{מַתְּתִיָּה}$ , *Mattathias* (Antigonus), instead of  $\text{יְהוֹחָנָן}$ , *Jehochanan*, and being in other respects identical, must be attributed to Hyrcanus II. Their description is as follows:—

*Obv.*—Une palme couchée horizontalement: au-dessus, en deux lignes parallèles,  $\text{הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדֹל}$ — $\text{יְהוֹחָנָן}$ ; au-dessous, de même,  $\text{הַיְּהוּדִים}$ — $\text{גְּדַל הַחֵבֶר}$ .

*Rev.*—Une large fleur, dont la tige porte à droite une fleur en bouton, et à gauche une feuille mal déterminée.

Forming the complete legend—

$\text{יְהוֹחָנָן הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדֹל חֵבֶר הַיְּהוּדִים}$

*Jehochanan Hakkohen Haggadol Hacheber Hajehudim.*

M. de Saulcy, therefore, classes these pieces to the year 41, the year before the accession of Antigonus.

These coins prove that Hyrcanus II. took the name of *John* after his grandfather John Hyrcanus, and somewhat tend to corroborate the attributions of the coins to which I have already alluded, and which have been assigned to this prince by Mr. Reichardt and M. de Saulcy.

<sup>73</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xi. 1871, p. 240; cf. F. W. Madden, Num. Chron., vol. xii. 1872, p. 4.



## I. ANTIGONUS.

B.C. 40—B.C. 37.

Respecting some of the coins of Antigonus, I made the following statement in my book <sup>74</sup>:—"The Rev. H. C. Reichardt has recently published (*Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. ii., 1862, p. 270) a coin from his collection, said to have on the reverse the remnants of a legend (חבר חי, *Cheber Hai*), and between the two cornua-copiae שב, i.e. "year 2." I



have seen the cast of this coin, but I confess that I cannot decipher what the letters may be; nor can others, to whom I have shown the cast, venture to say that they see the letters שב."

Shortly after the issue of my book, Mr. Reichardt, alluding to this statement, published <sup>75</sup> two highly interesting specimens of the coins of Antigonus, with the dates "year 1 and 2," of which the engravings are above given.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>74</sup> P. 78.

<sup>75</sup> *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. iv. 1864, p. 177.

<sup>76</sup> I have already in a previous paper (*Num. Chron.*, N.S.,

It will be seen that the word *חבר*, to which I have already alluded in speaking of the coins of John Hyrcanus occurs also on these pieces, and it was on this occasion that Mr. Reichardt expressed his opinion that it should be interpreted "doctor." It seems to me, however, far more preferable to consider the word as meaning *societas*, *natio*, *confederation*, and the legend *ראש החרבר*, which may be found on some of the coins of John Hyrcanus, seems more correctly interpreted "prince of the nation" (of the Jews), than "chief of the doctors" or "learned men."

These coins give full contradiction to the statement by Mr. Conder,<sup>77</sup> already quoted by me earlier in this paper, that "none of the Asmonæan coins have been ascertained to bear any date."

M. de Saulcy ascribes<sup>78</sup> to the year 40 the interesting coin of Antigonus belonging to the Comte de Voguë, already mentioned by me under "Hyrcanus II.," and which helped to prove the attribution of coins to this latter prince.

The following varieties of coins of Antigonus are also published by De Saulcy:—

*Obv.*—*מתתיה (ה חכהן) הגדל*. Single cornu-copisë.

*Rev.*— . . . *ΙΑΕΩ—ANTIΓΟ—ΝΟΥ*. In three lines, within a wreath.

*Obv.*—Anchor; perhaps a legend which has disappeared.

*Rev.*—Same type.

vol. iv. 1864, p. 177, *note*) observed that Mionnet (Vol. v. p. 563, No. 55), has published a coin of Antigonus of the *first year*, and that the one engraved but not deciphered by De Saulcy (Num. Jud., Pl. v. No. 2) is probably the same piece.

<sup>77</sup> "Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 100.

<sup>78</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xi. 1871, p. 241.

Style and fabric have induced De Sauley to assign this second piece to Antigonus.

M. de Sauley has also restored to Antigonus the curious copper coin, bearing for type on one side what was supposed to be four trees, and on the other a candelabrum with seven branches, published by M. de Vogüé,<sup>79</sup> and attributed by him to "the period which separates the Arab coinage from the coinage of the first money of the Caliph Abd-el-Melik."<sup>80</sup> On the obverse the letters מַתְתִּיָּה (for מַתְתִּיָּה, *Mattathias*) can be distinctly read, and on the reverse the letters ΣΑΝ (for ΒΑΣ. ΑΝΤΙΓ). M. de Sauley suggests that what has been taken for four trees is only the four feet of the table of shew-bread.

The coin with legend illegible on obverse, and in the *field* a star, and on reverse ΛΑΝ, and perhaps the anchor type, attributed *avec une très-grande réserve* by De Sauley to Antigonus, cannot be accepted as such till a better specimen be found.

The coin attributed by me in my work<sup>81</sup> to Antigonus, I afterwards<sup>82</sup> stated to be, in my opinion, *not* a Jewish coin.

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

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<sup>79</sup> Rev. Num., 1860, p. 291. De Sauley notices that on the example engraved by De Vogüé one can distinguish clearly the letters Β . Σ . Γ, and hence proposes to restore the legend ΒΑΣ. ΑΝΤΙΓ.

<sup>80</sup> On this question I made some remarks in the Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xii. 1872, p. 5, to which I shall allude in its proper place.

<sup>81</sup> "Hist. of Jew. Coinage," p. 79.

<sup>82</sup> Num. Chron., N.S., vol. v. 1865, p. 207.

(To be continued.)

## XV.

### NOTES ON THE ANNALS OF THE SCOTTISH COINAGE.

No. VIII.

CHARLES II.

1661. ON New Year's Day, 1661, Parliament solemnly ratified and confirmed the liberties, privileges, and immunities of the officers of the mint,<sup>1</sup> which had been granted to them from the time of David II., and often confirmed by his successors, and especially by James V., in the thirtieth year of his reign, and by James VI. in 1584 and at other times. This Act recites fully all the privileges and liberties claimed and enjoyed by the officials of the mint, and refers particularly to the grants formerly made.

The Provost of Edinburgh, Sir Robert Murray of Cameron, protested, in name of the municipality, against any encroachment on the rights of the Burgh of Edinburgh by this ratification, and his protest is entered on the records of Parliament.

On the same day a warrant was given<sup>2</sup> to Charles Maitland, General of the Mint, to search for and seize

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<sup>1</sup> "Acts," vol. vii. p. 227, c. 237.    <sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. vii. p. 233.

any tools or articles belonging to the mint, and carry them there for his Majesty's use.

On the 12th of June three thousand stone weight of copper was ordered to be coined into turners.<sup>3</sup> The General of the Mint and the Master (Sir J. Falconer) were to furnish the copper equally between them; and it was specially ordered to be good, pure copper, without any mixture of brass, and of the same intrinsic value as the last. Each turner was to weigh one drop and a half,<sup>4</sup> with an allowance of four grains more or less for remedy. Two thousand stone weight was to be coined within the space of three years, and the remainder when the Lords of Privy Council should think fit. They were also empowered to decide as to the impression and legend. As soon as the mint was in readiness to issue this new coinage, the Privy Council was to prohibit the importation and currency of all foreign copper coin; but any copper which was required for the coinage was to be imported free of duty.

A stock of 20,000 merks Scots was also provided for the mint; and it was ordered that any silver or gold found in Scotland was to be taken to the Cunzie house, and paid for at the rate of one ounce of coined gold of 22 carats for the ounce of bullion of 24 carats; and similarly the silver ounce of 12 denier fine, to be paid for by an ounce of minted silver coin of 11 denier. A coinage of four-merk pieces, with half, quarter, eighth, and sixteenth parts, was also authorized, and it was remitted to the Privy Council to fix the type and legends.

The Privy Council on the 2nd of October considered a report<sup>5</sup> given in to them by the Lord President of Session

<sup>3</sup> "Acts," vol. vii. p. 254, c. 273.

<sup>4</sup> 44 grains troy.

<sup>5</sup> P. C. R., p. 45.

and the Provost of Edinburgh, regarding the petition lately presented by the General of the Mint. The Council recommended that letters should be granted at the instance of the General or Master of the Mint against any one contravening the Acts about bullion; and they advised that Sir John Falconer should be sent for to come home with the stamps, and that the receivers should pay the £300 ordered by Parliament immediately.

On the same day a letter to the secretary was read and approved of, proposing to raise the value of the gold coins in proportion to the late rise in England, and also requesting that the new dies might be delivered as soon as possible to Sir John Falconer, that he might return to Scotland and get the coinage commenced without delay. A proclamation was issued against turners made of mixed metal, and one-third less in weight than they ought to be. These were represented as bearing on the obverse the legend *DEVS PROTECTOR NOSTER*, and on the reverse *NOMEN DOMINI SIT BENEDICT*. These were altogether prohibited, and importers of them were to be punished.

The Lords of the Privy Council approved, on the 4th of November, of a letter to the King,<sup>6</sup> asking that, in future, his royal commands concerning the coinage should be sent direct from himself to the Privy Council, and not through the Lord Secretary. This request was apparently complied with. On the 26th of November a proclamation was made raising the gold coinage to the same rate as it was current in England, or about one shilling and four pence on the *xxs.* piece.

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<sup>6</sup> P. C. R., p. 66.

1662. The Lords of the Privy Council on the 24th of April caused a proclamation to be made<sup>7</sup> forbidding the importation of any foreign copper coin; but seeing that the mint was not yet in readiness, they permitted, temporarily, the currency of French "doitts," at one penny Scots each.

On the 10th of July the band of caution for Briot and Sir John Falconer was produced<sup>8</sup> by the Lord Register, and registered in the books of the Council. It had been formally made in August and October, 1637.

On the same day a report was given in by certain commissioners about the differences which had arisen between the General and the Master of the Mint, chiefly about the expenditure of the £300 already mentioned, and about the lodgings in the mint. Sir John Falconer was to have whatever rooms he required for himself and his family, and any accommodation not required by him was to be given up for the General's use.

Lord Tarbet was added to the Commissioners of Privy Council<sup>9</sup> formerly named, and they were appointed to meet on the 9th of August, and report regarding the mint and the copper money.

The King, on the 14th of November, commanded Thomas Simon to make puncheons<sup>10</sup> with his Majesty's effigies thereon and the royal arms, for the mint in Scotland. These were to be for one gold coin of 20 merks, for silver coins of 4 merks, 2 merks, 1 merk, half-merk, and 40*d.* pieces. These dies, with the exception of the one for the gold coinage, were delivered to the General of the Mint in the January following.

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<sup>7</sup> P. C. R., p. 141.

<sup>9</sup> P. C. R., p. 179.

<sup>8</sup> P. C. R., p. 169.

<sup>10</sup> Ruding, vol. ii. p. 10.

1663. This was followed in June by a minute of the Council <sup>11</sup> appointing certain lords to meet and consider the propositions given in by the General of the Mint regarding the coinage, and to make inquiry for certain articles belonging to the mint which were at one time in the possession of the late Sir James Hope of Hopeton.

On the 2nd of July an Act was passed anent the mint, ordering the delivery to the graver of the puncheons for the 4 merk picce, 2 merk picce, 1 merk, half-merk, and 40*d.* pieces, in order that dies and matrices might be prepared forthwith.

Another Act on the 20th of October gave the types, &c., of this coinage. It ordered the issue only of 2 merks, merk, and half-merk pieces, and the type was to be the same as on the puncheons produced by the General, and since graven by the graver of the mint. The weights, standard, and remedies were also fully specified.

It will be observed that this only authorised the coinage of three out of the five species of coins noticed in the Act of Parliament. Joachim Harder is mentioned as the sinker of the irons.

On the 1st of December the Council wrote to the Lord Secretary,<sup>12</sup> stating that the standard pieces furnished by King James to the Scottish Mint had been lost during the time of the late troubles, and requesting others to be sent, as they were necessary for the coinage which was about to go on in the Scottish Mint. Three separate standards were required, one for exchequer, one for the General, and one for the master worker.

1664. On the 9th of February, the Lords Justice Clerk and Register were recommended to speak to Sir

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<sup>11</sup> P. C. R., p. 269.

<sup>12</sup> P. C. R., p. 238.



John Falconer and his son anent the mint matters, and report on the next council day.

Accordingly, on the 16th of February the Masters of the Mint were required to find sufficient caution<sup>13</sup> for the faithful performance of their duties, and on the 23rd of the same month their bond of caution was entered on the minutes.

The standard pieces requested by the Privy Council were sent down by the English Exchequer, and delivered over to the officials of the Scottish Mint on the 24th of March;<sup>14</sup> and on the same day an Act was passed, authorising the issue of 4 merk pieces in addition to the coins sanctioned the previous year. The type, legends, purity, &c., were all specified.

The General of the Mint presented to the Lords of Council on the 2nd of June a letter from the King extending the three years allowed for coining the two thousand stone formerly authorised till ten months after June, 1664, seeing the coinage had not begun till the end of July, 1663; and, further, ordering another thousand stone to be coined within fourteen months after the end of the first coinage.

1667. A commission was appointed on the 28th of November, 1667, to report concerning the "leg" dollars and the laws made against the exportation of the money. To this committee the General of the Mint was added in December, and on the 19th of that month the report was laid before the Privy Council. The committee found that the foreign dollars were current at too high a rate, and recommended that they should be reduced in value, or that the coin of the realm be raised in the proportion of

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<sup>13</sup> P. C. R., p. 345.

<sup>14</sup> P. C. R., p. 360.

a merk for each shilling sterling. A careful report as to the fineness, weight, and value, of those coins, prepared by the officials of the mint, is appended.

1668. On the 16th of July, 1668, a royal warrant to the General of the Mint was produced to the Privy Council, prolonging the copper coinage till August; but he having intimated that it was now finished, the dies were produced and broken.

1670. A proclamation was made in January, 1670, reducing the value of the leg dollars to 56s. Scots.

In August of the same year Parliament ratified the gift<sup>15</sup> of General of the Mint to Charles Maitland of Haltoun and his eldest son, and the longest liver of them, with all the privileges and advantages thereto belonging. The various immunities and liberties enjoyed by the members of the mint were also confirmed by an Act of the same Parliament.

1671. The importation of foreign coin, such as French doits, was prohibited by a proclamation dated the 20th day of July, 1671.

1673. On the 2nd of December, 1673, the Earl of Dumfries gave in an overture touching the coin,<sup>16</sup> to be considered by the Lords of Articles. He proposed that a certain number of persons of every estate should be appointed to look into the whole matter of the coinage, and report to Parliament.

1674. In January, 1670, a commission had been given to certain lords to try the assays from 1664 to 1673, and their report was rendered on the 27th of January, 1674.

At a meeting of Privy Council, on the 13th of March, a

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<sup>15</sup> "Acts," vol. viii. p. 45, c. 50, 51.

<sup>16</sup> "Acts," vol. viii. App. p. 30.

letter was read from the King, requiring them to grant full exoneration to the officials of the mint for the coinage from 1664 to 1673, of which an assay had lately been taken. The report of the commissioners is given at full length, and their procedure was approved of by the Council.

1675. On the 11th of February, 1675, a letter from the King was recorded in the minutes of Privy Council, ordering a change in the type of the silver coinage; and an Act of Privy Council of 25th February, after minutely rehearsing the type, weight, and value of the former coinage, authorized the issue of the new one, with the changes ordered by the royal warrant (Wingate, Pl. xlii. figs. 5, 6, 7, 8). The weights, &c., of these new pieces are all minutely given in the Act.

1676-7. A committee was appointed in November to report on the affairs of the coinage, and their report was given in on the last day of February, 1677. They recommended that the finer of the foreign coins, such as the French crowns and Spanish and Dutch ducatoons, should be current, as well as some foreign gold coins. On the same day the general and other officers of the mint were authorized to coin three thousand stone weight of copper in sixpenny and twopenny pieces.<sup>17</sup> The type of the smaller piece was to be the sword and sceptre crossed, surmounted by an imperial crown, with a two-leaved thistle on the reverse (Wingate, Pl. xlii. fig. 12).

The sixpenny piece is also described (Wingate, Pl. xlii. fig. 10).

1680. A proclamation on the 4th of March, 1680, quoted by Ruding,<sup>18</sup> raised the current value of the coins. The ounce of silver was raised to £3 4s. Scots, and the

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<sup>17</sup> In this Act the turner is defined as the 2*d.* piece.

<sup>18</sup> Ruding, vol. ii. p. 18.

4 merk piece to 56s. (Scots), and the mint price of bullion of *xid.* fine to 58s. Scots per ounce.

1682. On the last day of August, 1682, a letter from the King was read, in which reference was made to reports sent up to him. Serious charges must have been brought against the officers of the mint, for the King informed the Council that he had found it necessary to remove the Lord Hatton, Sir John Falconer, Alexander Maitland, and Archibald Falconer, not only from their places in the mint, but from all places of public trust; and the Lord Advocate was instructed to prosecute them before the proper tribunal. All coinages were ordered in the meantime to cease.

Sir Patrick Hume was appointed on the 23rd of November to assist the Advocate in the prosecution of the officials above named before the Session.

1683. The Commissioners of the Mint having met on the 18th of May, 1683, reported to the King that there should be no further mintage till the next meeting of Parliament; but in the meantime the bullion was to be collected as formerly, either in specie, or commuted at the rate of 12s. per ounce. The commissioners also recommended that an Assay Master should be appointed to test the fineness of the bullion paid in specie, and that pieces of eight, or Spanish, Seville, and Mexico dollars should be current at 56s. Scots.

Proclamation to this effect was made on the 4th of July.

#### JAMES VII.

1685. On the 20th of May, 1685, a proclamation was made at Edinburgh, forbidding the importation of foreign copper coins,<sup>19</sup> and declaring that none should pass except those bearing the royal stamp.

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<sup>19</sup> Ruding, vol. ii. p. 22.

1686. In the following year an Act of the Scottish Parliament was passed, which throws a considerable light on the affairs of the Scottish mint at this period. After offering to the King 12s. Scots for each ounce of bullion imposed by the eighth Act of the first session of the second Parliament of King Charles II., for supporting the charge and expense of a free coinage, and for paying the salaries of the officers of the mint, this Act declared that in future any one bringing to the mint bullion of the standard fineness, should receive for it the same weight in current coin, without any charge for melting, assaying, or coining. A clerk or book-keeper was to be appointed, who was to enter in a "fair parchment book" a register or record of the several quantities of bullion given in by the merchants, and in another the amount of coin minted from time to time. The species of current coin were declared to be sixty, forty, twenty, ten, and five shilling pieces, and their weights were minutely specified in the Act. Provision was made for the due and proper trial of the Pix; and it was expressly noted that the edges of the 60s. and 40s. pieces were to be lettered, and the edges of the others to be grained. The particular impressions and inscriptions were to be decided by the Privy Council, who were also empowered to order a coinage of gold. If a copper coinage was required, it was to be issued in sixpenny and twopenny pieces. The salaries of the mint officers were fixed as follows, viz. :—

General of the Mint . . .	£3,600	0	0	Scots.
Master of the Mint . . .	2,400	0	0	"
Warden . . . . .	1,200	0	0	"
Assay master . . . . .	1,200	0	0	"
Curator warden . . . . .	720	0	0	"
Sinker . . . . .	600	0	0	"
Clerk . . . . .	480	0	0	"
Clerk of the bullion . . .	333	6	8	"
Master smith . . . . .	360	0	0	"

Besides these salaries, and the allowances fixed by the Act, a sum of £1,160 13s. 4*d.* was to be paid to the General and Master for maintaining the fabric of the mint.

1687. In February of this year a general ratification of privileges of the officials of the mint was granted.

#### WILLIAM AND MARY.

1689. In November, 1689, Henry, Lord Cardross was appointed General of the Mint in Scotland, with all the honours and privileges thereto pertaining, with an allowance of £300 sterling per annum, and free lodgings for himself and his family in the buildings of the mint. It is to be noticed that this appointment was during the royal pleasure only, not as formerly *ad vitam aut culpam*.

1690. Some difficulty seems to have been experienced about removing the former officials of the mint. On the 21st of January Sir William Shairpe, of Scots Craig, late Master of the Mint, and the other officials, were ordered, at the instance of William Denholme, of West Sheills, the present Master, to remove from the lodgings in the mint occupied by them, and to deliver up any articles or writs in their possession. The Lords Yester, Cardross, and Revilrig, and the Laird of Arnistoun, were appointed to see this done. To these were added, on the 6th of February, the Lairds of Blackbarony and Brodie. Mr. William Spence was appointed warden on the 11th of February, though the gift in his favour was not recorded till the 18th of April, and the oath was administered 21st of June.

The Mint Committee was still further increased by the addition of the Earls of Argyll, Lothian, and Leven, Lord Yester, the Master of Burleigh, and the Lord Justice Clerk, the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Crawford, the

Lord Secretary of State, the Lord Advocate, and the Provost of Edinburgh.

On the 11th of April the Lords of Privy Council received a warrant from the King and Queen, authorising them to give orders to the officers of the mint to coin the lxs., xls., xxs., xs., and vs. pieces. They also on the same day ordered the provisions of the Act of Parliament of 1686 anent the money raised for the free coinage, to be put in force, the salaries of the officers to be paid, and one hundred pounds sterling to be advanced to the Master of the Mint.

On the 26th of September, a new Pix was ordered to be provided for the mint.

On the same day (26th September) a proclamation was ordered to be made, declaring the mint to be opened from and after the 16th of October, and the royal warrant for the new coinage was recorded. Five new sorts of coins were authorised, of the fineness of eleven deniers two grains. The obverse of each to bear the royal portraits, with the legend GVLIELMVS ET MARIA DEI GRATIA, and the value in figures below the busts.

	Deniers.	Grains.	Primes.	Seconds.
The 60s. piece to weigh	20	18	10	18
„ 40s. „	14	12	7	4
„ 20s. „	7	6	3	14
„ 10s. „	3	15	1	19
„ 5s. „	1	19	12	21

The reverse of each was to bear the arms, and to have the legend MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ FRANCIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ REX ET REGINA, abbreviated; the two larger pieces were to be lettered round the edge with the legend PROTEGIT ET ORNAT ANNO REGNI . . . and the others to be grained. At this time a good deal

of feeling was excited by the late appointments to the mint, and bills of suspension were brought in by several of those who had received their appointments formerly *ad vitam aut culpam*, to try the point of the legality of their deprivation of office. In all cases, however, it appeared that their pleas were rejected, and the new appointments sustained.

Permission was also given about this time to Lord Cardross to name a Clerk to the Mint, and the silver standard piece was ordered to be delivered to him.

A copper coinage was authorized by Act of Parliament. It was not to exceed 3,000 stones of metal, and to be spread over six years. Two pieces, one of twopence and another of one penny, were to be issued. The rate had been fixed by the Act of 1686 at 20s. Scots in the pound, but this was raised for the time to an amount not to exceed 30s. Another Act of Parliament raised the rate at the stone weight of silver from £18 Scots to £20 Scots.

1691. On the 27th of January the opinion of the Privy Council was asked regarding the necessity for keeping pieces of money for the Pix which had been already found of true fineness, but the Lords thought it right that in every case two pieces should be kept in the Pix, one for the fineness and one for the weight.<sup>20</sup>

Authority was given on the 29th of January to the Master of the Mint to give out some money which had been found finer than the legal standard.

In August, the new copper coinage was authorised. The "bawbee" was to bear the King and Queen's heads

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<sup>20</sup> Though in the next month they reconsidered their decision, and found one piece for weight enough.



on the obverse, and the monogram of their initials was to be on the obverse of the twopenny Scots piece. On the reverse of both a leaved thistle, with the King and Queen's titles abbreviated as usual.

Dr. Christie, Counter-warden, died this year, in November, and the Master of the Mint applied to the Privy Council for permission to nominate Mr. Patrick Mowbray to that office, until a new appointment was made.

1692. In June, a new Committee of the Privy Council was nominated to see to the affairs of the mint, who were to meet in July and December.

1694. On the death of the Lord Cardross, Lord John Hamilton was appointed General of the Mint, and, by an order of the Privy Council in December, was empowered to receive from the widow of the late General the keys of the Pix and other property belonging to the mint then in his custody.

On Christmas Day the Dean of Guild was ordered to make weights for the lxs., xxs., and vs. pieces conform to the English standard.

## WILLIAM II.

1695. On the 2nd of January the Privy Council ordered the dies of the coins with the portrait of the late Queen to be disused, but on the following day the Master of the Mint was permitted to coin a certain amount of copper in blank, until the new stamps were ready.

Certain trials of the Pix were made in March, and the Council determined to ask Parliament to alter the provisions of the Act of 1686 so far as they required a trial of every "journey" before a Committee of Council, and this

was accordingly done in the following session. The base money coined in Ireland was forbidden to have course in Scotland, and a proclamation to that effect\* was made at the same time.

A change in the rate of money was now contemplated, and a letter written from the Council to the King, requesting his authority to do this. This was granted in April; and, after consulting the Convention of Boroughs in July, a general rise of about ten per cent. was proclaimed in the coinage and foreign money then current. The clipped money of England was only to be taken by weight.

New dies for the copper coinage were prepared, which differed from the old ones in having the King's head and style only on the obverse, and on the reverse of the Turners, or twopenny pieces, the crown and sceptre instead of the monogram. The new dies for the 40s. and 10s. pieces of silver were authorised by the Privy Council to be used from and after July of this year. A difficulty arose about the figures under the bust signifying the value, but the Lords decided that the figures 40 should still be kept on the coins, though the value was raised to 44s.

In November another proclamation was made, forbidding the melting down or exportation of the money.

On the 10th of December threescore stone weight of silver was ordered to be issued in 40s. pieces, and one hundred and twenty stone in 20s., 10s., and 5s. pieces.

1696. Clipped money was allowed to be received by the collectors of shires for the poll money under certain restrictions, and on the same day (the 28th of January) the old merk pieces and unclipt English broad money were ordered to pass current.

The Committee of the Privy Council appointed to con-

sider the affairs of the mint made their report in May ; and the Council approved of the alterations proposed. The Tacksmen were to give in their "abbreviates" quarterly, and as the amount of bullion presented at the mint to be coined was so much greater than what was expected, it was ordered that the amounts returned to the officers should be in sums of money according to the order of time, but commencing again with the first after eight days. A tenth part of every "journey" was to be in small money, and these were to be weighed in quantities, and not singly, as heretofore. "Cobbs" were to go as bullion, and a sum of £200 was to be paid for the new dies to Mr. Clerk.

In May a new committee was appointed, and the operations at the mint stopped until this committee should make their report.

Great inconvenience having arisen from the English crowns and half-crowns passing current in Scotland at a higher value than they were in England, they were recalled to their former rate by a proclamation on the 21st of May.

This was followed on the 2nd day of June by another proclamation, calling down the Scottish pieces of 60s., 40s., 20s., 10s., and 5s. to the values they were current for in 1686.

On the 9th of June, the stop put upon bullion being received at the mint was taken off, and it was to be taken in as formerly.

In September an act of exoneration was passed, including all the operations at the mint from September, 1694, to August, 1696.

This important record contains a full minute of all the proceedings of the committees during this period, with a note of all the coinages, trials of the Pix, &c.

The committees had gone most minutely over all the "journeys," and reported all which were not exactly conform to the various Acts. The mistakes were very few and trivial, and the Privy Council granted full exoneration to all the officials in the mint.

In October an Act of Parliament was passed regarding the copper coinage. It had been provided that no copper should be coined without an express warrant from the King; and it was now enacted, that if the quantity allowed by former Acts was exceeded, it should be considered and punished as false coinage.

The old merk and half-merk pieces of James VI.'s reign were ordered by the Privy Council to be brought into the mint as bullion, and received at the rate of £3 4s. Scots per ounce; and this was further sanctioned by an Act of Parliament in the same year. Another Act of Parliament was passed in this year against false coiners. Some difficulty in working the Act of 1686 in regard to the supply of bullion occurred at this period, and in November the Privy Council considered a petition from the Master of the Mint on the subject, and remitted the same to the Commissioners of the Treasury to amend. The old merks and half-merks of the late reign, and the clipped English money, were allowed to be taken at the mint as bullion, but no money was to be taken for the recoinage of these, except as formerly directed.

In November, the Duke of Queensberry delivered to the Lord Chancellor the key of the Pix, which belonged to the Treasury.

On the 28th of December, the Privy Council made a curious order regarding two soldiers of the Earl of Tullibardine's regiment, who had been suspected of false coining, but against whom no evidence could be found.

They were ordered to be handed over to the officers from Flanders, to be transported there, never to return to Scotland, and the officers were to give to the captains in Lord Tullibardine's regiment two recruits in place of them.

On the last day of this year a proclamation was made, enforcing the late Act of Parliament about the old 14s. pieces and their halves, and declaring the weight to be judged by the stone weight of Lanark. Similarly, "cobbs" and the old 40*d.* pieces were to be received at the same rate, when below the legal weight.

1697. In January, 1697, it was decided by the Privy Council that the broad English money should be current only by weight at the rate of £3 4*s.* Scots the ounce, and that the milled money should be raised to £3 5*s.* Scots for the crown piece, and the others in proportion, and proclamation made accordingly.

The importation of foreign copper or brass money was forbidden by a proclamation made in May under the pain of £10; but in December another proclamation legalised the currency of the French three-sous piece at 3*s.* Scots, and the French crown at 58*s.* Scots, and raised the 40*d.* piece to 3*s.* 6*d.* Scots.

1698. In August, 1698, an overture for an Act anent the copper coin was remitted to the Committee of Parliament for security. Robert Millar, merchant in Edinburgh, was appointed interim clerk to the mint in December of this year, in room of Mr. Bonar, lately deceased. The petition asking his appointment was presented by \* John, Earl of Ruglen, General of the Mint, and Sir William Denham, of West Sheils, the Master.

1699. John, Earl of Lauderdale, was appointed to be

General of the Mint in the year 1699, with all the honours, privileges, and liberties enjoyed by his predecessors.

William Spence, the principal warden, died this year, and in September, Alexander Ogilvy, of Foylen, was appointed to succeed him. At the close of the year a Committee of the Privy Council was appointed to consider the exchange rules, and if necessary to recommend any alteration.

1700. In July of this year the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies presented a petition to the Privy Council, praying that money might be coined out of the gold dust and other bullion imported by them, with a suitable mark upon it to distinguish it from the other coin. The Privy Council granted the request so far, and ordered a new gold coinage of £12 and £6 (Scots) pieces. The Company were to have 10 per cent. profit on the gold coined. The coins were to be 22 carat fine, each £12 piece to weigh  $129\frac{3}{4}$  grains; having on the obverse the King's head and titles, with the crest of the Company beneath. It may be noticed that in the minute it is said the legend is to be GVLIELMVS SECVNDVS, while in the coins it is only GVLIELMVS. The reverse were to have the arms in a shield between W and R, crowned.

1701. A petition having been presented to the Privy Council by Gilbert Stewart in regard to some gold dust in his possession, the Privy Council in January, 1701, ordained the officers of the mint to obey the former Act, and to provide matrices, puncheons, &c., and recommended the Treasury to allow the expense.

In June, the Committee anent the mint was recommended to meet immediately, take trials of the money,

and consider any overtures or proposals which should be made to them.

A difficulty arose in connection with the coinage of gold for the African Company, and in July the Master of the Mint presented a petition asking for the expense of refining the gold dust, which the Council decreed the merchants should pay.

A committee was appointed in September to confer with the Town Council, and the Goldsmiths of Edinburgh anent the standard of fineness of the gold which was to be coined; and eventually the matter having been remitted to the General of the Mint and the Lord Advocate, they made a new standard out of three guineas of the late reigns, with which the new coinage was to be tried.

The regulations made in 1696 regarding the old 14s. Scots pieces and others were enforced anew by a proclamation in November of this year.

1702. No report of the committee lately appointed to meet is given; but they were requested to meet again at the mint for the same purposes. In February some other members were added to the former committee.

Several apprehensions were made at this time of false coiners, and £50 sterling was ordered to be paid to the Chamberlain of the Duchess of Buccleuch for his pains in the matter. The silver found on the persons of the coiners was to be melted down and assayed in the mint to test it.

#### ANNE.

1702. King William died on the 8th of March, 1702, and the first recorded Act of Privy Council in the reign

of Queen Anne was a warrant, on the 21st of May, to again publish and print the proclamation of the 4th of May, 1697, against the importation of foreign copper or brass money.

In July it was officially notified that the standards of gold which had been lost had been found again, and they were consigned to the custody of Sir Thomas Moncrieff.

1703. The Earl of Lauderdale's commission from the Queen, as General of the Mint, was ordered by the Privy Council to pass the great seal "per saltum" without passing any other register.

1704. A committee was appointed on the 3rd of February, 1704, to inquire into the export of money, and the import of foreign copper or brass, and to report any determination they might come to. Another committee was named on the 2nd of May, and again on the 9th, specially for the same purpose, and a proclamation made, strictly forbidding the exportation of the current coin.

More false coiners were discovered, and in November of this year a committee was named to consider a report made by the magistrates of Dumfries on the subject.

In December the Privy Council appointed a committee to inquire specially about the growth of Popery and false coin, and added some new members to the old committee about the export of the coin.

James Clark was also ordered to prepare dies for a new coinage of silver about to be issued.

1705. In January the formal warrant to James Clark for dies for a new 10s. and 5s. Scots piece was granted; and in March the mint was ordered to be opened, and the trials taken of the gold in the pix, to see if it were conform to the standard made by the Earl of Lauderdale.



In July an attempt was made in Parliament to raise the coin, but it was not carried.

1707. The sixteenth article of the Treaty of Union having assimilated in every respect the coinage of England and Scotland, the Privy Council on the 28th of March appointed the towns of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen as the places where the English money would be exchanged at the rate of 65*s.* Scots per ounce; and the 17th of April, as the day on which it was to be paid in, and after that time it was only to be current at the same rate as in England, viz., 5*s.* sterling for the crown.

On the 7th of April measures were taken to prevent any importation of English money for the purpose of taking advantage of the higher rate; the loss of which, to private persons, was to be made up out of the equivalent.

On the 16th of April the Directors of the Bank reported to the Privy Council that there was in their hands, to the best of their knowledge, £7,800 sterling of English milled silver money.

According to the reports made to the Council immediately after the 17th, it would appear that in Edinburgh £21,845 6*s.* 10*d.* was exchanged, in Glasgow £8,009 19*s.* 10½*d.*, and in Aberdeen £1,436 10*s.* 6*d.* sterling.

Shortly after this time the mint at Edinburgh ceased its operations, and the annals of the coinage of Scotland as a separate kingdom may here be properly brought to a close.

R. W. COCHRAN-PATRICK.

## XVI.

### A RUSSIAN NUMISMATIC GLOSSARY.

THERE was but one cause for regret that tempered the otherwise unmixed satisfaction of Oriental Numismatists, when M. Tiesenhausen published last year his great work on the Coins of the Eastern Khalifahs,\* and that one cause was that it was written in Russian. It was impossible not to feel that its being composed in a comparatively unknown tongue was a great obstacle to its being that valuable help to the student which the learning and devotion of its author and the importance of its subject alike were calculated to make it. Although in England Russian has received much more attention of late, and the character of a people before too little studied has been brought home to us with that happy mixture of learning and brilliancy which makes Mr. Ralston's writings so universally attractive, yet the number of Russian scholars is very limited. And as it is not usual to find two rare acquirements united in one scholar, if the number of Russian scholars is small, the number of Orientalists who are acquainted with Russian must be still smaller. And this regret with regard to M. Tiesenhausen's work is not confined to English numismatists: Prof. Stickel, of Jena,

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\* МОНЕТЫ ВОСТОЧНАГО ХАЛИФАТА, *Monnaies des Khalifes Orientaux*, St. Petersburg, 1873.

has expressed to me his sense of the loss that we have suffered, from our inability to avail ourselves fully of this numismatic treasure; and his opinion is no doubt shared by the great majority of his collaborateurs in Germany and elsewhere.

But whilst we may be fully conscious of an evil, there is no reason why we should not do our utmost to overcome it; and I therefore made up my mind to enable myself to read at least the essential part of M. Tiesenhausen's book. For this purpose one needs very little Russian scholarship; for one must not attempt any of the learned Doctor's lengthy discussions, but confine oneself strictly to the descriptions of the coins, and anything that does not involve long sentences and unfrequent words. Of course, to learn Russian thoroughly would be much more satisfactory; but I imagine there are a good many students like myself in the world, who cannot spare much time away from their principal study, and to whom, therefore, any short method of acquiring the information they require for that principal study is more acceptable than a long one. For such students I am now writing. My object is to give them the means of making out the sense of the more essential part of M. Tiesenhausen's work with the least possible trouble. With that view I merely give those aids which I found I required myself—beginning as I did with complete ignorance of even the Russian alphabet—and which I had to find for myself. These aids are—1, the Russian alphabet; 2, a table of the principal inflectional terminations of nouns and verbs; and 3, a short glossary of those words which are of frequent occurrence in the descriptions of coins. The first two are easily supplied, and the third I worked out by steadily reading through some half-dozen pages of the book and noting every word, the understand-

ing of which was essential to the right interpretation of a description, and then by taking bits here and there and thus testing the efficacy of my glossary. It may be asked, Why not have a dictionary and a grammar at once? My answer is that a pamphlet is a much more handy thing than two volumes. The glossary is, of course, of the briefest kind, and the student may not unfrequently come upon words not to be found in it. But still I believe the fault will be found to be on the right side, for in this case redundancy is the very thing to be guarded against.

Before I leave the reader to the cheerful contemplation of the Russian alphabet, I must say a few words about proper names. These of course are not included in the glossary; their inclusion would have added very greatly to its length. They will at first puzzle the student considerably, though, as he gets a little accustomed to the look and sound of the Russian letters, the difficulty will vanish. Probably Colonel Guthrie, Mr. Rogers, and General Fox, would not, at first sight, have recognized their own names in Гутри, Роджерсъ, Фоксъ; but the strangeness of the appearance soon wears off. The best way of making out such names at first is to read them aloud.

Whenever the meaning of a Russian word is given, it is given in (numismatic) Latin as well as in English. The object of this essay would be very imperfectly fulfilled if it were useful to those numismatists alone who were acquainted with English. French, perhaps, would have answered my purpose better than Latin, but it has not yet been accepted as the international medium for scholars—the place hitherto held by Latin.

I now proceed to the tables which I have drawn up of the Russian alphabet, and the outlines of the nominal and verbal inflections.

## 1. THE RUSSIAN ALPHABET.

Roman.	Italic.*	Representative letter.†
А а	<i>A a</i>	a
Б б	<i>B б</i>	b
В в	<i>B в</i>	v
Г г	<i>Г г</i>	g
Д д	<i>Д д</i>	d
Е е	<i>E e</i>	e
Ж ж	<i>Ж ж</i>	j (as in French)
З з	<i>З з</i>	z
И и	<i>И и</i>	î
І і	<i>I i</i>	i
Й й	<i>Й й</i>	i
К к	<i>K к</i>	k
Л л	<i>L л</i>	l
М м	<i>M м</i>	m
Н н	<i>H н</i>	n
О о	<i>O о</i>	o (a)
П п	<i>П п</i>	p
Р р	<i>P р</i>	r
С с	<i>C с</i>	s
Т т	<i>T т</i>	t
У у	<i>У у</i>	u
Ф ф	<i>Ф ф</i>	f

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\* The knowledge of the Italic small letters is necessary, as they differ very considerably from the Roman, and will often be met with. It is a common practice to print quotations in Italic.

† The representative letter is of course only approximate. The vowels have the sounds of the Italian vowels.

3. THE RUSSIAN ALPHABET (*continued*).

Roman.	Italic.	Representative letter.
X x	<i>X x</i>	kh
Ц ц	<i>Ц ц</i>	ts
Ч ч	<i>Ч ч</i>	tch
Ш ш	<i>Ш ш</i>	sh
Щ щ	<i>Щ щ</i>	shtch
Ъ ъ	<i>Ъ ъ</i>	(mute)
Ы ы	<i>Ы ы</i>	ûi(asoui in Fr. <i>Louis</i> )
Ь ь	<i>Ь ь</i>	(generally mute)
Ѣ ѣ	<i>Ѣ ѣ</i>	yay or ay
Э э	<i>Э э</i>	ay
Ю ю	<i>Ю ю</i>	yu
Я я	<i>Я я</i>	yâ
Ө ө	<i>Ө ө</i>	f, ph
Ҫ ҫ	<i>Ҫ ҫ</i>	î in words from the Greek.

2. TABLE OF THE INFLECTIONAL TERMINATIONS OF SUBSTANTIVES.\*

Cases.	FIRST DECLENSION. (MASCULINE.)		SECOND DECLENSION. (FEMININE.)		THIRD DECLENSION. (NEUTER.)	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
Nominative	ъ	и	а	ы	о	а
Genitive	а	овъ	ы	ъ	а	ѣй
Dative	у	амъ	ѣ	амъ	у	амъ
Accusative	= nom. or gen.	= nom. or gen.	у	= nom. or gen.	о	= nom. or gen.
Instrumental	омъ	ами	ою	ами	омъ	ами
Prepositive	ѣ	яхъ	ѣ	яхъ	ѣ	яхъ

\* It will be observed that there are three declensions in Russian, one for each *gender*, and that each declension contains three different terminations for the nominative case, with corresponding terminations for the other cases. At the outset it should be stated that there is no "article" in Russian.

I give no table of the terminations of adjectives, because the knowledge of their endings is not absolutely necessary to the general understanding of Dr. Tiesenhausen's descriptions.

### 3. TABLE OF THE INFLECTIONAL TERMINATIONS OF VERBS.

#### INFINITIVE.

ть (irreg. чь or ти)

#### INDICATIVE.

##### Present.

Person	Singular		Plural	
	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
1st.	у or ю,	аю ѣю, or юю	имъ	емъ
2nd.	ишь	ешь	ите	ете
3rd.	итъ	еть	атъ or ятъ	уте or ютъ

##### Perfect.

	Singular	Plural
1st. }	лъ, ла, or ло	ли
2nd. }		
3rd. }		

#### Imperative.

	Singular	Plural
2nd.	и (or ъ)	ите or ѣте

The future is generally formed by prefixing буду the future of быть to be before the infinitive, as я буду говорить, *I shall speak.*



## GLOSSARY.

- безъ, безо, *prep.*, without, *sine*.  
 битый, *part.*, struck, *cusus*.  
 буква, *s.*, letter, *littera*.  
 быть, *v.*, to be, *esse*.  
 видъ, *s.*, form, *species*.  
 видѣть, *v.*, to see, *videre*.  
 вмѣсто, *prep.*, instead, *vice*,  
*loco*.  
 внутренній, *adj.*, inner, *in-*  
*terior*.  
 восемь, *num. adj.*, eight, *octo*.  
 восточный, *adj.*, eastern, *ori-*  
*entalis*.  
 время, *s.*, time, season, *tem-*  
*pus*, *ætas*.  
 второй, ая, *num. ord.*, second,  
*secundus*.  
 въ, во, *prep.*, in, *in*.  
 выбить, *v.*, to strike, *cadere*.  
 вѣроятный, *adj.*, probable,  
*verisimilis*.  
 вѣроятно, *adv.*, probably.  
 гдѣ, *adv.*, where, *ubi*.  
 говорить, *v.*, to tell, mention,  
*dicere*, *memorare*.  
 годъ, *s.*, year, *annus*.  
 городъ, *s.*, town, *urbs*.  
 два, двѣ, *num. adj.*, two, *duo*.  
 дворъ, *s.*, see монета.  
 девять, *num. adj.*, nine, *novem*.  
 десять, *num. adj.*, ten, *decem*.  
 динаръ, *s.*, *dīnār*, *denarius*.  
 диргемъ, *s.*, *dirhem*, *drachma*.  
 если, *conj.*, if, *si*.  
 есть, *v.*, is, *est*.  
 еще, *adv.*, besides, *præterea*.  
 же, *conj.*, as, *ut*.  
 замѣнить, *v.*, to substitute,  
 replace, *loco ponere*.  
 звѣзда, *s.*, a star, *stella*.  
 и, *conj.*, and, *et*.  
 издать, издавать, *v.*, to publish,  
 edit, *edere*.  
 изданный, *part.*, published,  
*editus*.  
 изъ, *prep.*, from, out-of, *ex*, *de*.  
 или, *conj.*, or, *aut*, *vel*.  
 имя, *s.*, name, *nomen*.  
 кажется, *v.*, it seems, *videtur*.  
 какъ, *conj.*, as, *ut*.  
 ко, отъ къ, *prep.*, to, *ad*.  
 который, *pron. adj.*, which,  
*qui*.  
 кромѣ, *prep.*, besides, *supra*.  
 круговой, *adj.*, circular, or-  
*biculatus*.  
 кругъ, *s.*, circle, *circulus*.  
 легенда, *s.*, legend, *legendum*.  
 лицо, *s.*, person, *homo*.  
 лицевой, *adj.*, front, *obversus*.  
 между, *prep.*, between, *inter*.  
 милосердіе, *s.*, mercy, *mise-*  
*ricordia*.  
 мнѣніе, *s.*, opinion, *opinio*.  
 можно, *v.*, it is possible, *fieri*  
*potest*.  
 монета, *s.*, coin, *nummus*.  
 монетный дворъ, mint-place,  
*urbs monetalis*.  
 мы, *prop.*, we, *nos*.  
 мѣсто, *s.*, place, *locus*.  
 на, *prep.*, on, upon, *in*, *super*.  
 надписать, *v.*, to superscribe,  
*superscribere*.  
 надъ, *prep.*, over, above, *super*.  
 находить, *v.*, to find, meet  
 with, *invenire*.  
 не, *adv.*, not, *non*.

неизвѣстный, *part.*, unknown, *ignotus*.  
 область, *s.*, district, province, *pagus, provincia*.  
 обломокъ, *s.*, fragment, *fragmentum*.  
 оборотъ, *adj.*, reverse, *reversus*.  
 одинъ, одна, одно, one, *unus, una, unum*.  
 одна надъ другою, *f.*, one over the other, *alia super aliam*.  
 означеніе, *s.*, indication, *notatio*.  
 опущеніе, *s.*, omission, *omissio*.  
 отецъ, *s.*, father, *pater*.  
 отличать, *adj.* to distinguish, *distinguere*.  
 относить, *v.*, to relate, apply, *referre, pertinere*.  
 отъ, *prep.*, from, *ab, de*.  
 первый, *num. ord.*, first, *primus*.  
 передъ, see предъ,  
 по, *prep.*, to, according to, like to, by, *ad, secundum*.  
 подъ, *prep.*, under, *infra*.  
 поле, *s.*, field, area, *area*.  
 правитель, *s.*, governor, *praefectus*.  
 предлагать, *v.*, to propose, *proponere, proferre*.  
 предъ, *prep.*, before, *ante*.  
 предыдущій, *adj.*, preceding, *pracedens*.  
 прежній, *adj.*, former, *prior*.  
 принадлежать, *v.*, to belong, *pertinere*.  
 противъ, *prep.*, facing, against, *adversum*.  
 пять, *num. adj.*, five, *quinque*.

самый, *adj.*, same, *idem*.  
 сверхъ, *prep.*, over, *supra*.  
 семь, *num. adj.*, seven, *septem*.  
 слово, *s.*, word, term, *verbum*.  
 слѣдующій, *adj.*, following, *sequens*.  
 см. for смотри, *v.*, see, *vide*.  
 снизу, *prep.*, beneath, *infra*.  
 собраніе, *s.*, collection, *collectio*.  
 сомнѣніе, *s.*, doubt, *dubitatio*.  
 сохранить, *v.*, to preserve, *servare*.  
 старый, *adj.*, old, *antiquus*.  
 сто, *num. adj.*, hundred, *centum*.  
 сторона, *s.*, side, *latus*.  
 стр. for страница, *s.* page, *pagina*.  
 строка, *s.*, line, *linea*.  
 сынъ, *s.*, son, *filius*.  
 съ, со, *prep.*, with, *cum*.  
 такъ, so, *sic, tanquam*.  
 такъ же, so as, *tanquam ut*.  
 типа, *s.*, type, pattern, *exemplar*.  
 того, *pron.*, that, of that, *id, ejus, &c.*  
 того же, of the same, *ejusdem*.  
 только, *adv.*, only, *modo*.  
 тому, этому, *pron.*, to that, *isti, illi*.  
 тотъ, этотъ, *pron.*, this, *hic*.  
 точка, *s.*, point, stop, *punctum*.  
 три, *num. adj.*, three, *tres*.  
 тѣмъ, *pron.*, by this, *hoc*.  
 цвѣтокъ, *pl.* цвѣтки, flower, [flos].  
 центръ, *s.*, centre, [flos].  
 часть, *s.*, part, *pars*.  
 чеканить, *v.*, to strike,  *cudere*.  
 чеканки, the striking.

четыре, <i>num. adj.</i> , four, <i>quatuor</i> .	шестиугольный, <i>adj.</i> , six-angled, hexagonal, six-pointed, <i>sexangulus</i> .
число, <i>s.</i> , number, cipher, <i>numerus</i> .	элифъ, <i>s.</i> , the letter <i>alif</i> .
читать, <i>v.</i> , to read, <i>legere</i> .	этому see тому.
что, <i>pron.</i> , what, <i>quod</i> ; <i>conj.</i> that, <i>ut</i> .	этотъ see тотъ.
шесть, <i>num. adj.</i> , six, <i>sex</i> .	Я, <i>pron.</i> , I, <i>ego</i> ; <i>gen.</i> & <i>acc.</i> меня, <i>dat.</i> мнѣ.

STANLEY LANE POOLE.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLL. OXON.

October 28, 1874.

## XVII.

### NOTES ON SOME INEDITED COINS OF THE DYNASTY OF THE KHALIFAHS OF BANI UMEYA.

IN the very comprehensive work of M. Tiesenhausen, printed in St. Petersburg in 1873, on the Coins of the Eastern Khalîfahs, the author recapitulated all the coins of those dynasties that had then been published. His list comprises specimen *dînârs* of every year from A.H. 76 to A.H. 132 inclusive, excepting the years 82, 85, 87, 102, 105, 107, 125, 129 and 132.

Mr. Stanley L. Poole has lately contributed notices of *dînârs* bearing dates 82, 102, and 105, from the rich collection of Colonel C. S. Guthrie. Recent additions to my collection now enable me to fill in the remaining *dînârs* of this dynasty. Indeed, my collection contains a *dînâr* of every year of the series with the exception of 76, 110, and 127.

In order to prove that the Khalîfahs of the race of Bani Umeya struck *dînârs* in every year from 76 to 132 inclusive, I will lay before your readers the dates of those hitherto unpublished, and thus complete the entire list.

*N* 85. Diacritical point over the *خ* of *خمس*.

*N* 87. Diacritical points over the *ض* of *ضرب* and under the *ب* of *سبع*.

*N* 107. Diacritical points under the *ی* of *یواد*.

*N* 125. No points whatever.

*N* 129. No points whatever.

*N* 152. No points whatever.

The *dînârs* of the last few years of this dynasty show a tendency to that peculiar style of character most strongly developed at a later period under the Aghlabite dynasty :

I mean that style in which the letters are formed of dots or knobs and of lines joining them. The dînâr of the year 132 shows this peculiarity more than those of the immediately preceding years.

Again, taking M. Tiesenhausen's work, supplemented by Colonel C. S. Guthrie's collection, as my authority for the edited coins of this dynasty, I find that I can place before your readers nine hitherto unpublished dirhams.

Æ 90. بهقباد الأسفل *Bihkubaz al Asfal*. This town is the last of three mentioned by the author of *Marasid al Ittila'a*, viz. "three towns on the Euphrates near Medinet es Salâm, distinguished by the epithets 'Al A'ala,' 'Al Awsaṭ,' and 'Al Asfal.'"

Æ 99. دستوا *Destawâ*.

Æ 96. درابجرد *Darâbjard*; thus spelt in the *Marasid*, but without the | on the coins.

Æ 80. الحسن *Al Husn*, or perhaps, if other diacritical points be introduced, الخشن *Al Khushn*, a place not yet identified.

Æ 94. کرمان *Karman*.

Æ 96. الری *Ar Rey*.

Æ 98. سرق *Surrak*.

Æ 97. سجستان *Sejistân*.

Æ 98. سوق الأهواز *Suk al Ahwâz*. The author of *Marasid al Ittila'a* says that *Al Ahwâz* was formerly called الاحواز, and was changed by the Persians into the softer pronunciation. They also called it Kuzistan. احواز is the plural of حوز, which means "a district." The *Ahwâz* consists of seven districts between Basrah and Fars, all of which are comprised in the plural *Al Ahwâz*.

E. T. ROGERS.

LONDON, July 1, 1874.

## NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

In the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Vol. I., Part IV., are the following articles:—

1. J. Friedlaender.—“The Acquisitions of the Royal Coin Cabinet of Berlin during the year 1878, including an Account of General Fox’s Collection, lately purchased by the German Government.”

2. A. v. Sallet.—“The most ancient Tetradrachms of the Arsacidæ.

3. A. v. Sallet.—“Pertinax Cæsar, the Son of the Emperor Pertinax.”

4. P. Lambros.—“Inedited Coins of Tenea.” Translated from the Greek.

5. F. Imhoof-Blumer.—“Numismatic Corrections.” In this useful paper, Dr. Imhoof-Blumer records all the erroneous attributions which he has been able to discover in the catalogues of Hunter, Taylor Combe, and Leake.

6. L. Meyer.—“Inedited Greek Imperial Coins of Asia Minor.”

7. P. Brock.—“Supposed Evidences of the Invasions of Denmark by the Vandals.”

8. H. Dannenberg.—“On the Dobra Find.”

In the *Miscellen* are notices of various numismatic works, &c.

## MISCELLANEA.

DISCOVERY OF STERLINGS IN AYR.—Some few months ago, while taking down an old house in Newmarket Street, Ayr, the workmen discovered an earthenware jar containing several hundreds of silver sterlings. The jar was deposited in an excavation in a large stone, and was found about six feet below the foundation of the house. The coins were chiefly of the reigns of Edward I. and II., with a few Scottish pennies of the long cross type of Alexander and some of Robert I. and John Baliol. Most of the coins were dispersed before any note was taken of the discovery, but the number must have been very considerable. The following lot, acquired at the time on the spot, probably gives some idea of the various mints noticed.

118 London pennies, Edward I. or II.

28 Canterbury       ”       ”

12 Bristol           ”       ”

7 York pennies, Edward I. or II.		
1 Chester	„	„
2 Newcastle	„	„
2 Lincoln	„	„
3 Durham	„	„
8 Dublin	„	„
5 Waterford	„	„
1 Cork	„	„
85 Alexander III. of Scotland (mostly common varieties of long cross type)		
7 Robert Bruce		
2 John Baliol		

Some foreign pennies and one Anglo-Gallic were also found. It is curious that all the Alexander pennies were of the long cross type, and none of the double cross; nor were there any half-pennies.

R. W. C. P.

FIND OF COINS.—In cutting the railway from Ryde to Newport, Isle of Wight, at Haven Street, the workmen dug up a hoard of small brass Roman coins, which, by the energy of Mr. F. Roach, were secured by Dr. Barrow for the museum of the Ryde Literary and Philosophical Society. It will suffice to say they are mostly of Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius, with the usual admixture of coins of preceding emperors, back to the epoch of the Constantine family. The only coin of rarity which we noticed is a Magnus Maximus, with the reverse SPES ROMANORVM; a *castrum*; in exergue P. CON. A very similar deposit was dug up, years ago, at Cliff, near Shanklin, and one a few years ago at Wroxall. In all of these the latest coins are of Honorius and Arcadius, and the deposits point, of course, to the last days of imperial rule at Britain. Some time since a discovery of Roman coins took place at Farrington, Isle of Wight, on the property of the Poet Laureate; but we never received a report on it. The coins, we understand, were not later than the time of Postumus.

Rochester, though unquestionably the site of the Roman *Durobrivis*, has been in itself singularly unfertile in Roman antiquities. Recently, in digging for foundations on the west side of the High Street, opposite the castle, a large brass of Domitian has been found; and a third brass of Victor, with the reverse of the camp gate and SPES ROMANORVM.

C. R. S.

# INDEX.

## A.

Adranum, coin of, 35  
 Agathokles, coins of, 40  
 Agyrium, coin of, 35  
 Alexander Jannæus, coins of, 306-308  
 Alexander II., coins of, 311  
 Allectus, coins of, 91  
 Anne, Scottish coins of, 336  
 Antigonus, coins of, 314  
 Antoninus Pius, coin of, 85  
 APXATETAE, the legend, 38

## B.

BABINGTON, REV. PROF. CHURCHILL,  
 B.D., F.L.S., &c. :—  
 On some Unpublished or Little-  
 known Coins of the Romans re-  
 lating to Britain, 81  
 Bactrian coins, 161  
 Bani-Umoya, the Dynasty of, 349  
 Blacas, Duc de, Translation of Momm-  
 sen, noticed, 157  
 BOMPOIS, H. FERDINAND :—  
 Explication d'un Didrachme inédit  
 de la Ville d'Ichnæ (Macédoine),  
 177  
 Appendice, 273  
 Botticæan Numismatics, 177, 219  
 Briot, Nicholas, the Engraver, 245

## C.

Caracalla, coin of, 86  
 Carausius, coins of, 87  
 Centuripæ, coin of, 36  
 Charles I., his Collection of Coins, 100  
 Charles I., Half-crown of, 105  
 Charles I., Scottish coins of, 240  
 Charles II., Scottish coins of, 317  
 Commodus, coin of, 85  
 Copper Coinage of 1672-73, 113

VOL. XIV., N.S.

Corinthian staters, struck in Sicily, 28,  
 45

## D.

Dicæa, coins of, 204, 273  
 Dionysios and his Successors, coins of,  
 20

## E.

Eretria, coins of, 276  
 Eryx, coins of, 36  
 Ethelred, King of Northumbria, coins  
 of, 94

## F.

Finds of Coins :—  
 Ayrshire, 351  
 Isle of Wight, 352  
 Foreign Coins, Value of, in Scotland,  
 134, 144

## G.

GARDNER, PERCY, Esq., M.A. :—  
 A Coin of Heraüs, Saka King, 161  
 Thasian Manubria, 168  
 Gelon, coins of, 6  
 Gelon II. (?), coins of, 63  
 Geomori, Oligarchy of the, coins struck  
 under, 6  
 Geta, coin of, 86  
 GRUEBER, HERBERT, Esq. :—  
 His Catalogue of Roman Medallions  
 in the British Museum, noticed,  
 270

## H.

HEAD, BARCLAY V., Esq. :—  
 On the Chronological Sequence of  
 the Coins of Syracuse, 1  
 HENFREY, HENRY W., Esq. :—  
 King Charles I.'s Collection of Coins,  
 100

Z Z



- On a Die for a Half-crown of  
Charles I., 105  
On Thomas Simon's Connection with  
Guernsey, 107  
Notes on Simon's 72 Plates of Coins  
1701, 159  
Heraeus, coin of, 161  
Hieron I., coins of, 9  
Hieron II., coins of, 60  
Hieronymos, coins of, 69  
Hiketas, coins of, 53  
HOARE, CAPT. EDWARD :—  
The Copper Coinage of 1672-73, 113  
Hyrcanus II., coins of, 310-312

## I.

- Ichne, Didrachm of, 177, 273

## J.

- James VI. of Scotland, coins of, 119,  
229  
James VII. of Scotland, coins of, 325  
Jewish Numismatics, 281  
John Hyrcanus, coins of, 305  
Judas Aristobulus, coins of, 305

## K.

- KAINON, the Legend, 38  
KEARY, C. F., Esq. :—  
On the Coins of Ethelred, King of  
Northumbria, 94  
Koipavog, the term, 166

## L.

- LEE, J. F., Esq., F.S.A. :—  
His Roman Imperial Photographs  
noticed, 156  
Lipara (?), coin of, 40  
Litra, Sicilian, reduction of, 74

## M.

- MADDEN, F. W., Esq. :—  
Jewish Numismatics, 281  
Magnus Maximus, coin of, 352  
Manubria, Thasian, 168  
Marsden's "Numismata Orientalia,"  
new edition of, 160  
Maximianus Herculeus, coins of, 93  
Mélanges de Numismatique, noticed,  
269

## N.

- Northumbrian Coins, 94

## P.

- PATRICK, R. W. COCHRAN, Esq., F.S.A.  
Scot. :—  
Notes on the Annals of the Scottish  
Coinage, 118, 229, 317  
Philistis, coins of, 65  
PLN, the Exergual Letters, 81  
POOLE, STANLEY LANE, Esq. :—  
A Russian Numismatic Glossary, 339  
Potters' Stamps, 168  
Pyrrhos, coins of, 55

## R.

- Revue de la Numismatique Belge no-  
ticed, 156  
Revue Numismatique noticed, 267  
ROGERS, E. T., Esq. :—  
Notes on some of the Dynasty of the  
Bari-Umayn, 349  
Roman Coins sent to Britain, 81  
Roman Medallions in the British Mu-  
seum, 270  
Russian Numismatic Glossary, 339

## S.

- Saka Kings, the, 161  
SAULCY, MONS. F. DE :—  
Numismatique de la Terre Sainte  
noticed, 158  
Scottish Coinage, Annals of the, 118  
Septimius Severus, coin of, 86  
Shekels, &c., attributed to Simon  
Maccabæus, 282, 304  
Simon, the Inscription, 293  
Simon, Thomas, his Connection with  
Guernsey, 107  
Snelling's 72 Plates of Coins, 159  
SYMMAKIKON, the Legend, 37  
Syracuse, the Coins of, 1  
1st Democracy of, 11  
Athenian Siege of, 16  
2nd Democracy of, 24  
Re-struck coins of, 34  
Allies of, 37  
3rd Democracy of, 52  
4th Democracy of, 70  
Under the Romans, 75  
Weights of, 79

## T.

Tauromenium, coin of, 36  
 Thasian Manubria, 168  
 Thermæ, coin of, 37  
 Thrace, coins of, 206  
 Timoleon, coins of, 24  
 TPIH, the Legend, 267  
*Τυραννοῦντος*, the term, 165  
 TYPPH, the Legend, 39

## W.

Wight, Isle of, coins found in, 352  
 William and Mary, Scottish coins of,  
 327  
 William II. of Scotland, coins of, 330

## Z.

*Zeitschrift für Numismatik* noticed,  
 155, 351

THE END.

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# PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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SESSION 1873—1874.

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OCTOBER 16, 1873.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

Col. Hyde of the Calcutta Mint, Robert Carfrae, Esq., F.S.A., Scot., and Fred. J. Lees, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*. 5<sup>me</sup> Série, tome v., 4<sup>me</sup> livraison. From the Society.

2. *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland*. 4th Series, vol. ii., Nos. 13 and 14. From the Association.

3. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*. 2nd Series, vol. i., Nos. 3—8. Vol. ii., Nos. 1—7. Vol. iii., Nos. 1—7. Vol. iv., Nos. 1—9. Vol. v., Nos. 1—7. Vol. vi., No. 1. From the Society.

4. *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1872, Parts II., III., and IV., 1873, Part I. Tillæg to the same 1871—2, and *Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord*. N.S., 1872. From the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries.

5. *Recueil de Curiosités inédites ou peu connues*, par A. P. Bouthowski. 2<sup>me</sup> liv. Geneva, 1873. From the Author.

6. *Numismata Cromwelliana*. Part I. By H. W. Henfrey, Esq. From the Author.

7. Report of the Select Committee on the Royal Mint, together with Minutes of Evidence, &c., 1837. From R. Hoblyn, Esq.

Mr. C. Roach Smith exhibited casts of a coin of Coenwulf, lately found near Hythe; Mr. Evans, a small British gold coin, *obv.* TINC, with the letters c above and b below; *rev.* Gorgon head; also a gold coin of Verica, with the letters COM. FR. (Commii filius); Mr. Golding, silver coins of the Bactrian kings Apollodotus and Azilizes.

Mr. H. W. Henfrey read a paper, by himself, "On the Collection of Ancient Coins and Medals formed by Charles I." (*Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. xiv., p. 100).

Mr. P. Gardner communicated a paper "On some interesting Greek coins lately acquired by the British Museum." It is printed in full in the *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. xiii., p. 177.

NOVEMBER 20, 1873.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

A. Harford Pearson, Esq., and Major Stubbs, R.A., were elected Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland*. 3rd Series, vol. i., No. 8. 4th Series, vol. ii., No. 15.

2. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*. Vol. v., No. 8.

Mr. Madden exhibited a specimen of the medal of the London

International Exhibitions, which the Commissioners have prepared to be presented to every exhibitor at the Exhibition of 1873, and to those who have rendered services. The basis of the medal itself is a compound metal. The medal is gilt, and  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches in diameter. On the obverse is the bust of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with the inscription ALBERT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES, PRESIDENT. In the "field," behind the bust, are the Prince of Wales's feathers, and the motto, ICH DIEN. The obverse is by Mr. F. Miller, teacher of modelling in the Art-Training School, South Kensington. The reverse represents the buildings of the Exhibition, Albert Hall, and Memorial, with the arcades of the Horticultural Gardens. The inscription is LONDON INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF ALL FINE ARTS, INDUSTRIES, AND INVENTIONS; in the exergue is MDCCCLXXIII. The reverse is by Mr. J. Gamble, one of the decorative artists of South Kensington Museum. The Medal has been produced by Mr. G. Morgan, medallist.

Mr. Evans exhibited a large bronze medallion of Didius Julianus, recently found at Hemel Hempstead. It is finely patinated, but a forgery, probably of the sixteenth century. The design of the reverse is copied from the Syracusan medallions.

Mr. C. F. Keary read a paper "On the Coins of Ethelred, the son of Eanred, King of Northumbria." See N.S., vol. xiv., p. 94.

Mr. S. L. Poole read a paper "On the Coins of the Urtukis," in which he traced the origin of the double-headed Imperial Eagle as having come from the East, and being probably derived from the fabulous Anka or Rokh of the "Arabian Nights." N.S., vol. xiii., pp. 254 and 342.

Mr. Cochran-Patrick communicated a paper "On the Annals of the Coinage of Scotland."

DECEMBER 18, 1878.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

H. C. Kay, Esq., and Mark Francis Wilson, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

Mons. F. Bompois, Dr. J. Friedländer, Mons. A. Heiss, Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, and Dr. A. von Sallet, were elected Honorary Members.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Histoire de la Fabrication des Monnaies*. By M. R. Chalon. From the Author.

2. *Jean Second, Poète et Médailleur*. By M. Camille Picqué. From the Author.

3. *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*. Vol. II., Part 2. From the Society.

4. *Commentaires historiques d'Histoire Romaine*. By Jean Tristan. Paris, 1644. From J. Williams, Esq.

Mr. Webster exhibited a unique gold stater of Eukratides; *obv.* helmeted head of the King to right; *rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ—the Dioscuri as on the silver coins; also five gold coins of Diodotus, and three of Antiochus.

Mr. Evans exhibited, on behalf of Mr. F. G. Lloyd, a silver dollar struck in September last at Carthage during the siege. The following is the description: *Obv.* CARTAGENA SITIADO POR LOS CENTRALISTAS; in the centre SETIEMBRE 1878, above a small cinquefoil. *Rev.* REVOLUCION, CINCO PESETAS; in the centre CANTONAL, above a small cinquefoil.

Mr. Cochran-Patrick communicated an account of the discovery of a large number of silver sterlings in Ayr, composed chiefly of coins of Edward I. and II., Alexander III. of Scotland, and Robert Bruce.

Mr. J. Parker communicated a paper "On the Coins bearing the name Aelfred, struck at Orsnaford," a town which has generally been identified with Oxford.

Mr. S. L. Poole read a paper, by himself, "On some Inedited Arabic Coins in the British Museum, including a Gold Coin of a hitherto entirely unknown King of Karman."

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JANUARY 15, 1874.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., Secretary, in the Chair.

Capt. J. Sackville Swann was elected a Member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Annuaire de la Société Française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie*. Tome iii., 2<sup>me</sup> partie, 1869, and tome iv., 1<sup>re</sup> liv., 1873. From the Society.

2. *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*. 5<sup>me</sup> Série, tome iv., 1<sup>re</sup> liv. From the Society.

3. *Zur Münzkunde und Palæographie Bœotiens*. By Dr. F. Imhoof-Blumer. From the Author.

4. The Thirty-seventh Annual Report of the Council of the Art-Union of London, 1873. From the Art-Union.

Mr. Evans exhibited a cast of a copper coin of Tranquillina, found in a tomb near the site of the ancient city of Anechialus, on the Euxine, on the reverse of which was a dolphin with the legend ΑΤΧΙΑΑΕΩΝ.

Mr. B. V. Head read the first portion of a paper "On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Syracuse," in which he endeavoured to determine with greater exactness than has hitherto been attempted the dates of the various issues in all metals, from the time of the Oligarchy of the Geomori, in the sixth century B.C., down to the usurpation of Agathocles, in B.C. 317. The paper is printed in the N.S., vol. xiv., p. 1.



FEBRUARY 19, 1874.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

Walter Albany Savile, Esq., was elected a Member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. History of India. Vol. v. By Sir H. Elliot. From Lady Elliot.

2. Numismatique Mérovingienne. By the V<sup>te</sup> Ponton d'Amécourt. From the Author.

3. Description raisonnée des Monnaies mérovingiennes de Châlon-sur-Saône. From the same.

4. Numismata Cromwelliana, or the Medallie History of Oliver Cromwell. Part II. By H. W. Henfrey, Esq. From the Author.

5. Photographs from a MS. in the British Museum, containing representations of Scottish coins. From R. W. Cochran-Patrick, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

6. Numismatique de la Terre-Sainte. By M. F. de Sauley. From the Author.

7. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Band I., Heft 1—3, 1873. From the Editor.

8. A bronze medal in commemoration of the National Thanksgiving in St. Paul's, 27th February, 1872, for the restoration to health of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. From the Corporation of the City of London.

Mr. Vaux exhibited a di-stater, believed to be unique and unpublished. It belongs to the class of Etruscan silver which are struck, according to Brandis (p. 147), on the Eginetan standard; according to Mommsen (Ed. Blacas, Vol. I., p. 218), on the Persian. Several staters of this class exist in the British Museum, which weigh about 175 grs. (*Cat. Gr. Coins, Italy*, p. 12). Mr. Vaux's double stater weighs 350 grs. The type of the obverse is an amphora, out of the mouth of which

issues a cuttle-fish or sepia. The reverse, as on many of the contemporary Etruscan silver staters, is smooth, and without any device whatever. This remarkable piece is, unfortunately, in poor preservation.

The Rev. C. Soames communicated a description of a coin of Cunobeline, similar to Evans, pl. xii., fig. 8, on which all the letters *CVN* and *CAMV* were visible, found lately near the forest of Savernake.

Mr. Evans exhibited a coin of Eleazar the Priest, lately found near Jerusalem. The type is the same as that engraved in Madden and Bayer, but the arrangement of the letters of the inscription is somewhat different.

Capt. Hoare communicated a copy of a document, entitled "The account of James Hoare for copper farthings, from 20 July, 1672, unto the 20 April, 1673." *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. xiv., p. 113.

A paper was read, by Mr. Cochran-Patrick, "On Unpublished Varieties of Scottish Coins;" and another, by the Rev. Prof. C. Babington, "On some unpublished or little-known Roman Coins relating to Britain." *N.S.*, vol. xiv., p. 81.

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MARCH 19, 1874.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

Charles Butler, Esq., John Cockburn, Esq., Robert Hall, Esq., and George Henry Vize, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. The Smithsonian Report for 1871. From the Smithsonian Institute.

2. *Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest.* 13<sup>me</sup> Série, 1871-1873. From the Society.

3. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. 2, No. 3. From the Society.

Mr. Evans exhibited a brass coin of Cunobeline, the reverse type of which was a boar devouring a serpent. This rare coin lately formed part of the Wigan collection. On its inscription, TASC. FIL., is founded the generally accepted interpretation of the legend TASC. F. on other coins of Cunobeline as TASCIOVANI FILIUS.

Mr. Golding exhibited a rare silver coin of John, Duke of Burgundy and Count of Flanders.

Mr. F. R. Conder communicated a paper "On the History of the Jewish Coinage," in which he developed views, both as to the weight and as to the distribution of the Jewish Coinage, which are not in concordance with preceding writers on the subject. He insisted on the positive determination of the weight of the shekel, as given in barley grains in the Mishna, and discussed in full by Maimonides in his treatise on the Temple tax. And from the fact that a talent of silver, according to these authorities and to the Bible, contained 960,000 grains, while a Babylonian talent in the British Museum actually weighs 959,040 grains, he inferred the identity of the barley-grain of the Mishna with the Troy grain. The shekel, on this view, contained exactly 100 carats, diamond weight. As to the silver coins known as shekels, Mr. Conder considered them to be specimens of the Righia, *Stater*, or three-quarter shekel, which, after long dispute, was accepted by the Sanhedrim in lieu of the sacred shekel, for the purpose of the Temple tax. The inscription, SHEKEL ISRAL, he considered to denote "legal weight," and not necessarily any specific coin. The existence, as stated in Hebrew literature, of two successive silver shekels—the first of 320 grains, used down to the Captivity; and the second, the Sela shekel, of 384 grains, which harmonises with the Golden Daric, and was used after the return from Babylon—was also mentioned, and the authorities cited. With regard to the attribution, the

author pointed out that, according to the views of M. de Sauley, out of 148 coins, 45 are said to have been struck in nine years; while, according to Mr. Madden, out of 133 coins, 53 were struck in eight years. This disproportion is such, in Mr. Conder's opinion, as to throw great doubt on the propriety of the attribution. The chief source of error, according to Mr. Conder, lies in the translation of the word "Shemo," "Shemoun," "Shemono," which occurs on many coins as a proper name. Thus M. de Sauley has not hesitated to speak of Barcochebas, the last rebel leader of the Jews, as "Simon Barcochebas," a designation for which there is no literary authority whatever. It has been found necessary, on that hypothesis, to attribute the very numerous coins on which this word occurs to some prince or priest of the name of Simon. Many of these attributions he regarded as extremely hypothetical, if not entirely imaginary. Mr. Conder cited passages to show that the word "Shemo," on the coins, is used in its primary sense of "accepted," with reference to the legality of the coinage. He also, on the authority of Buxtorff and Gesenius, translates "Lacheruth," not "deliverance," but "stamp," and referred both the numerals denoting years, and the word "Ligullath," to the years of the Septennate.

A discussion followed, in the course of which the President pointed out the fallacy of some of the arguments advanced by Mr. Conder; while Mr. Evans adduced the fact that one of the so-called "Nasi" coins, attributed by Mr. Conder to a much earlier period, is restruck over a Roman large brass coin, probably of the reign of Nero.

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APRIL 16, 1874.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

James Verity, Esq., was elected a Member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Vorschläge und Erfordernisse für eine Geschichte der Preise in Oesterreich. Von Dr. Arnold Luschin. From the Author.

2. Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, No. 16, Oct., 1878. From the Association.

3. Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. New Series, vol. xiii.; Session, 1872-3. From the Society.

4. Revue de la Numismatique Belge. 5 Série, tome vi., 2<sup>me</sup> liv. From the Society.

Mr. H. Pearson exhibited a Syracusan decadrachm, of the time of Dionysius the Elder, by the engraver Kimon, with his name upon the band across the forehead of the fountain-nymph, Arethusa, upon the obverse.

Mr. Evans exhibited a Roman gold coin of Hostilian, the son of the Emperor Decius, with the reverse legend, *PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS*.

Mr. R. Smith sent for exhibition an impression of a Roman Denarius, of the Cornelia Gens, with the inscription *ON. LENTVL.*, struck at Rome about B.C. 60.

The Rev. A. Pownall sent for exhibition four coins of Cnut, struck at the Lincoln and Gloucester Mints.

Mr. Henfrey read a paper "On the Connection of T. Simon, the Medallist, with the Island of Guernsey." (See N.S., vol. xiv., p. 107.)

Mr. Cochran-Patrick communicated a paper in continuation of his Annals of the Coinage of Scotland, in which he treated of the period between the years 1625 and 1642.

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MAY 21, 1874.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Catalogue of the Collection of Oriental Coins belonging to Col. C. Seton Guthrie, R.E., Fasc. i. "Coins of the Amawi Khalifehs." By Stanley Lane Poole, Esq. From the Author.

2. *Annuaire de la Société Française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie*, 1866 and 1867.

Comptes-rendus of the same. Tome i., 1869, and tome ii., 1870.

Mémoires of the same. Eight sections, 1869 and 1870, with photographic plates.

From W. Blades, Esq.

3. Roman Imperial Photographs, arranged by John Edw. Lee, Esq., F.S.A. From the Author.

4. The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal. Vol. ii., No. 4. From the Society.

5. *Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*. 1<sup>re</sup> trimestre de 1874. From the Society.

6. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. Parts 2, 3, and 4, 1873.

7. The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Vol. iii., 4th Series, 1874, No. 17.

8. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. N.S., vol. vii., Part 1.

Major Hay exhibited some Greek Imperial coins of Alexandria; and Mr. H. S. Gill a Scotch ten-shilling piece of James the Second, and a set of counters of the time of Charles the First.

Mr. Cochran-Patrick communicated a note on the Scottish coinage of James the Sixth after his accession to the English throne, in which he proved, by documentary evidence, that the coins issued by the Scottish Mint between the years 1605 and 1609 did not bear the arms of Scotland in two quarters of the shield, the characteristic mark of all coins minted in the northern capital after the latter date; the earlier coins being only distinguished from the English by the thistle mint-mark, and the style of their workmanship.

Mr. H. W. Henfrey read a paper "On some Plates of Gold and Silver Coins, published for the first time by Snelling in 1757;" and a note on the half-crowns of Charles the First, issued from the mint erected by him at Shrewsbury in 1642, for the purpose of coining into money his own household plate and that which he had received from the Universities. (See N.S., vol. xiv., pp. 105 and 159.)

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JUNE 18, 1874.

### ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Anniversary Meeting were read and confirmed. The Report of the Council was then read to the Meeting, as follows:—

GENTLEMEN,—The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society. The Council regret to have to announce their loss, by death, of the four following Members:—<sup>1</sup>

J. Y. Akerman, Esq., F.S.A.

Captain R. Murchison.

J. Gough Nichols, Esq., F.S.A.

Joseph S. Wyon, Esq.

and, by resignation, of the eight following Members:—

William Allen, Esq.

A. Coombs, Esq.

John Hunt, Esq.

Morley Farrow, Esq.

Rev. Marmaduke C. F. Morris.

Edmund Oldfield, Esq.

J. S. Smallfield, Esq.

G. S. Veitch, Esq.

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written we have to record the death of John Williams, Esq., and of Col. Charles Seton Guthrie. Memoirs of each of these gentlemen will be given in our next Annual Report.

On the other hand, they have much pleasure in recording the election of the sixteen following Members :—

Charles Butler, Esq.	Fred. J. Lees, Esq.
Robert Carfrae, Esq.	A. Harford Pearson, Esq.
John Cockburn, Esq.	Walter Albany Savile, Esq.
Major Antony Buck Creeke.	Major Stubbs.
Robert Hall, Esq.	Capt. J. Sackville Swann.
Col. Hydo.	James Verity, Esq.
Henry Cassels Kay, Esq.	George Henry Vize, Esq.
Robert Lloyd Kenyon, Esq.	Mark Francis Wilson, Esq.

Also of the five following Honorary Members :—M. F. Bompois, Dr. J. Friedländer, M. A. Heiss, Dr. F. Imhoof-Blumer, and Dr. A. von Sallet.

According to our Secretary's Report, our numbers are, therefore, as follows :—

	Original.	Elected.	Honorary.	Total.
Members, June, 1873 . . . . .	3	145	37	185
Since elected . . . . .	—	16	5	21
	3	161	42	206
Deceased . . . . .	1	2	1	4
Resigned . . . . .	—	8	—	8
Erased . . . . .	—	—	—	—
Members, June, 1874 . . . . .	2	151	41	194

We proceed to give a brief notice of our deceased Members.

Mr. John Yonge Akerman, F.S.A., was born in London June 12, 1806, his father having been for some years engaged in mercantile pursuits in that city, to which he had removed from Wiltshire, where his family had previously resided for some centuries.

In early life Mr. Akerman was private secretary to the famous William Cobbett, and, on the opening of the Greenwich Railway in 1838, became secretary to that Company, and held



this appointment until it was amalgamated with the Brighton Company. Somewhat later he was private secretary to Lord Albert Conyngham (afterwards Lord Londesborough), a post to which he was naturally recommended by the kindred tastes existing between them in the study of antiquities, especially those of England, to which from his earliest youth he had been exceedingly attached.

In January, 1834, Mr. Akerman was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and in the autumn of 1848 became, with Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., joint secretary of the Society. In 1853, on the appointment of Sir Henry Ellis as director of the Society, Mr. Akerman became sole secretary, an office he held greatly to the advantage of the Society till 1860, when the failure of his health rendered him no longer able to take an active part in the onerous duties of the secretariat, together with the additional labour of editing the *Archæologia*.

On March 24, 1860, Mr. Akerman sent in his resignation, and on the 24th of June, of the same year, ceased to be directly connected with the Society of Antiquaries, except as the local secretary for Berkshire, an honorary office, for which his knowledge of English antiquities well fitted him, and in which he was able to do good service to archæology till within a short time of his death. From the period of his resignation of the secretariat Mr. Akerman resided constantly at Abingdon, where he died, after a brief but somewhat sudden attack of illness, Nov. 18, 1873.

Mr. Akerman was, as is sufficiently well known, a devoted lover of numismatics, and in 1836 had the hardihood to start, chiefly at his own expense, what may be regarded as the first English periodical devoted to the illustration of coins, under the title of the *Numismatic Journal*. Indeed, there can be no doubt that to this step, and to further exertions he made with the active help of Dr. Lee, Prof. H. H. Wilson, Mr. Hawkins, and Mr. C. Roach Smith, that we owe the formation of the Numismatic Society, which held its first regular meeting on

Dec. 22, 1886. Of the Numismatic Society Mr. Akerman was at once appointed one of the secretaries, and he held this office, at the same time acting as editor of the Numismatic Chronicle, which had been started in 1838, till 1860, when, on his resignation of the office of secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, he finally left London. From this time till his death Mr. Akerman retained the honorary title of foreign secretary to the Numismatic Society.

During his long connection with the two antiquarian societies few men have worked with greater zeal than did Mr. Akerman, and the long list of his contributions to antiquarian knowledge, either as separate publications, or in the formal papers in the Numismatic Chronicle, the *Archæologia*, or other publications, here appended, will attest this fact better than any eulogy that could be bestowed upon him.

Nor were his labours unappreciated either at home or abroad. At home, at a special meeting of this Society, with Prof. H. H. Wilson in the chair, a handsome testimonial was presented to him on Dec. 23, 1841. Abroad, the gold medal of the French Institute, one of the highest honours that can be conferred on any one, was given to him in recognition of the valuable works and papers he had written, chiefly of the series "On the Coins of the Romans relating to Britain." He was also created an honorary member of the Northern Society of Antiquaries at Copenhagen, and of several other bodies whose pursuits were connected with the promotion of sound archæological researches. Of these may be mentioned specially the Royal Society of Literature, the Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica of Rome, the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, the Boston Numismatic Society, and the Royal Academy of St. Petersburg.

At the Society of Antiquaries, besides his special duties as secretary, he devoted much time to the general encouragement of those who were willing to devote their time or their money to archæological researches, setting them the good example of

conducting in person, during his days of vacation, for five or six years, some of the most successful excavations which have been carried out during recent years. Indeed, there can be little doubt that exposure for many successive days to cold and wet autumnal weather, on the bare and exposed downs of Wiltshire, was the immediate cause of the acute rheumatism which in the end utterly broke down a frame of great natural strength, and crippled bodily energies which with a little more care might have remained till now comparatively uninjured. It was, in fact, the habit of our deceased friend to think of others and to forget himself. Thus, after a long and fatiguing day's labour, he was always to be found at work, often till a late hour of the evening, thus denying to himself the repose necessary to keep the mind in a true state of health.

Of the separate works he published, some of which, as is evident from their titles, were enlarged copies of papers he had previously read before the Numismatic or other Societies, there are the following :—

1. Numismatic Manual, or Guide to the Study of Greek, Roman, and English Coins. An useful little book, with seven plates, nicely executed. Lond., 12mo., 1832.

2. Descriptive Catalogue of Rare Roman Coins (mainly founded on the work by M. Mionnet). 2 vols., 8vo. Lond., 1834.

3. Coins of the Romans relating to Britain. Lond., 8vo., 1836.

4. Stone Worship of the Ancients illustrated by their Coins. Lond., 8vo., 1838.

5. Catalogue d'une Partie de la Collection du Chevalier d'Horta. Lond., 8vo., 1839.

6. Observations on the Coins of the Ancient Britons. 1st part, Lond., 4to., 1837; 2nd part, Lond., 4to., 1839. Printed for private circulation.

7. Numismatic Manual. Lond., 8vo., 1840.

8. Remarks on the Coins of Ephesus. Lond., 8vo., 1841.

9. Glossary of Wiltshire Provincial Words and Phrases. Lond., 8vo., 1842.

10. Coins of the Romans relating to Britain (an enlarged edition of the former one). Lond., 8vo., 1842.

And, again, Lond., 8vo., 1844.

11. On the Forgeries of Public Money. Lond., 8vo., 1843.

12. Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes. Lond., 8vo., 1846.

13. Numismatic Illustrations of the New Testament. Lond., 8vo., 1846.

14. Archæological Index for Celtic, Romano-British, and Anglo-Saxon Remains. Lond., 8vo., 1847.

15. Introduction to the Study of Ancient and Modern Coins. Lond., 8vo., 1848.

16. Tradesmen's Tokens. Lond., 8vo., 1849.

17. Legends of Old London. Lond., 8vo., 1853.

18. Wiltshire Tales in Prose and Verse. Lond., 8vo., 1853.

19. Remains of Pagan Saxondom. Lond., 4to., 1855.

20. Hints for the Preservation of Saxon Remains. 12mo.

21. Springtide; or, the Angler and his Friends. Lond., 8vo.

Next come his detached papers in different journals, and, first, those in the *Numismatic Journal*.

1. On the Unpublished Coins of Nicæa in Bithynia. Vol. i., 1836-7.

2. Observations on the Coins of the Ancient Britons. Part i., *ibid*.

3. On a Medallion of Commodus. *Ibid*.

4. Observations on the Coins of the Ancient Britons. Part ii., *ibid*.

5. Letter to Dr. Lee "On the Coins of the Emperor Claudius reading 'De Britannis.'" *Ibid*.

And in the "Proceedings" of the same year a paper "On the Oversights to which Historians and Antiquaries are liable from the prevailing neglect of the Numismatic Branch of History," being a reply to a paper in the Transactions of the

Royal Society of Literature, by John Hogg, Esq., F.R.S., Feb. 23, 1837.

And "Remarks on Coins of Vespasian with the title 'Victoria Augusti,'" *Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii., 1837-1838.

6. On a Denarius of Caracalla.

7. On the Stone Worship of the Ancients, as illustrated by their Coins.

It would occupy too much space to enumerate all the valuable Papers from the pen of Mr. Akerman which have appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. A list of no less than twenty-three will be found in the index at the end of the twentieth volume of the Old Series. To these must be added:—

"On the Coins of Lebadia and Zacynthus." Vol. i.

"On a Golden Armlet found in Granta Fen." Vol. xiv.

"On a Gold Medal struck in 1628, to commemorate the Raising of the Siege of Stralsund." Vol. xv.

And a Notice, in the Proceedings for Dec. 22, 1842, of "Four Anglo-Saxon Sceattas found on Breach Downs, near Canterbury."

To the New Series he communicated two short papers, one on a British coin found in Berkshire, and the other on a gold coin found near Canterbury, as well as notices in the Proceedings:—

On two coins found in Oxfordshire, one of Cunobeline, the other a Saxon sceatta (1863).

Two silver coins of Valens and Julianus, found at Wantage (1864).

A coin of C. J. Cæsar (1866).

Sterling of John, Duke of Brabant, A.D. 1312-1316, found at Abingdon (1866); and

A penny of Æthelred II., found at Long Wittenham in Berkshire (1867).

His papers in the *Archæologia* are no less than thirty-five in number, of which the following is of a numismatic character:—

"On the Condition of Britain from the Descent of Julius Cæsar to the Emperor Claudius, with a map showing where coins have been found." Vol. xxxiii. (1849).

His communications to the Society of Antiquaries, mentioned in its Proceedings, are upwards of fifty in number, of which the following may be cited:—

"On the Irish Coins of King John, with the Crescent surmounted by a Star" (Jany. 11, 1844).

"On Greek and Roman Coins said to have been found in Panama" (Jany. 12, 1854).

"On a Gold Coin of Theodosius found in Kent (June 3, 1858).

"On the Occurrence of the Distaff on two coins of Ilium, in the Troad" (Feby. 3, 1859).

The following papers appeared in other publications:—

*The Gentleman's Magazine.*

"Three Letters on Roman Coins." 1855.

"Traces of Anglo-Saxon Settlements in the Upper Valleys of the Thames."

*Wiltshire Magazine.*

"On Pilgrims' Signs found at Salisbury." Vol. iii.

*C. R. Smith's Collectanea Antiqua.*

"Account of a Gold Coin found at Canterbury." 1864.

The late Mr. Joseph S. Wyon, whose death at the early age of thirty-seven was recently announced, held the appointment of chief engraver of her Majesty's Seals. His appointment had been previously held by his father, Mr. Benjamin Wyon, and by his grandfather, Mr. Thomas Wyon, upon whom it was first conferred in the year 1816. The lately deceased artist was educated by his father, Mr. Benjamin Wyon, in the Royal Academy of Arts, where he obtained two silver medals. His first work of importance was a medal of James Watt, the

improver of the steam engine. This medal so pleased the late Robert Stephenson, that at his recommendation it was adopted as an annual prize medal by the Royal Institute of Civil Engineers. The first work by the late Mr. J. S. Wyon executed in his capacity as Chief Engraver of her Majesty's Seals was the Great Seal of England now in use. In the year 1863 he executed the medal struck by order of the Corporation of the City of London, to commemorate the passage of the Princess Alexandra through the City, previous to her marriage with his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and in the year 1867 the medal for the same Corporation to commemorate the visit of the Sultan. In the latter year he executed the medal struck by order of the Canadian Government to commemorate the Confederation of the four provinces of the Dominion of Canada. The Great Seal of the Dominion of Canada, a beautiful work of art, was also executed by him at the same time. Those above mentioned are but a few of the most important of the late artist's works, which also comprise medals of various members of the Royal Family, and which are well and widely known. The late Mr. J. S. Wyon was a juror in the London Exhibition of 1862, and, in conjunction with his brother, Mr. A. B. Wyon, who assisted and who survives him, received the only medal awarded in the Paris Exhibition of 1867 to British exhibitors in the class of Sculpture. They have also recently been awarded two medals in the Exhibition of Vienna. Mr. J. S. Wyon was decorated by the Sultan of Turkey with the Order of the Medjidie.

John Gough Nichols, Esq., was the eldest son of John Bowyer Nichols, Esq., F.S.A., and grandson of John Nichols, Esq., F.S.A., author of the great History of Leicestershire, and of the well-known literary anecdotes of the eighteenth century, &c., the pupil, partner, and successor of William Bowyer, who belonged to a family of printers, reaching back to a period shortly anterior to the Revolution of 1688. Mr. John Gough

Nichols, so called from his godfather, the distinguished antiquary, Richard Gough, was born at his father's residence in London in 1806. His first work was to take part in the compilation of the Progresses of King James I.; he also assisted in the editorship of the Gentleman's Magazine. This last was an office which he continued to discharge up to the year 1856, when Messrs. Nichols relinquished the proprietorship of that publication.

Mr. J. G. Nichols took an active part in the management of the affairs of this society soon after its formation; in 1839 we find his name upon the council, and in the same year he contributed a paper to the Chronicle, under the title of "Anecdotes of the English Coinage." He is chiefly known, however, from his contributions to the *Archæologia*, and to the publications of the Camden Society, which are numerous and valuable, and though his work in the wider fields of antiquarian research of late years left him no leisure for any strictly numismatic studies, yet he remained to the last a Member of the Numismatic Society, and many among us will have reason to regret his loss.

Captain R. M. Murchison, a nephew of the late Sir Roderick I. Murchison, was well known as an ardent collector of coins, especially those belonging to the Saxon and English series, with both of which he was intimately acquainted. In connection with the former series he had amassed a large amount of information with the view of publishing, at some future time, a more complete catalogue of Saxon coins than any we at present possess. His untimely death, however, prevented the completion of his task, and the papers which he left behind him are not in a sufficiently forward state for publication to enable another to edit his work. He was for many years a member of this Society; but the only paper which he communicated to the Journal is that on three unique gold coins of Edward VI., printed in the xxth volume of the old series, and illustrated by a plate which he presented to the Society.



We regret to have to record the death, at Geneva, on the 21st March last, of M. Anthony Durand, Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie and Foreign Associate of the British Archæological Association.

M. Durand was of English extraction and born in London in 1804. In his youth he travelled in Asia Minor, Egypt, and Greece, and there he contracted a taste for ancient Numismatics. He afterwards settled in France, where he succeeded in forming a very rich collection of medals relating to the French Revolution of 1789, a MS. catalogue of which he presented to the Numismatic Society of London some years ago. This collection is, we understand, now transferred to the cabinet of M. Coderelle, of Calais. In 1865 M. Durand brought out a work entitled "*Médailles et Jetons des Numismates*," Geneva, 4to., 1865, which comprises medals struck in commemoration of no less than two hundred and eighty-five Numismatists and collectors of coins, together with short biographical sketches of their lives. M. Durand's loss will be lamented by a numerous circle of friends, both in this country and abroad.

The financial condition of the Society is still satisfactory, though the balance in the hands of the Treasurer is materially reduced. This circumstance is to a great extent due to the heavy outlay of upwards of £55 on the beautiful Autotype plates which illustrate Part LIII. of the *Chronicle*. It is hoped that a great part of this sum may be recovered by sales.

The Treasurer's Report is as follows :—

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements of the Numismatic Society, from June, 1873, to June, 1874.

Dr. THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH JOHN FREDERICK NECK, TREASURER. Cr.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Messrs. Virtue & Co., for Printing Chronicle, Part 49 . . . . .	32	2	0	By Balance from last statement . . . . .	169	3 1
" Ditto ditto . . . . .	38	0	0	" Three half-yearly Dividends on £305 17s. per Mr. Vaux . . . . .	13	11 7
" Ditto ditto . . . . .	55	14	8	" Ditto ditto £102 1s. 3d. . . . .	4	11 9
" Ditto ditto . . . . .	42	18	9	" Mr. J. R. Smith, for Chronicles . . . . .	47	4 8
" Ditto ditto for Receipt Books . . . . .	1	7	0	" Mr. Head, for ditto . . . . .	12	12 0
" Mr. F. J. Lees, for Engraving . . . . .	21	0	0	" M. Jules Fouroubert, for ditto . . . . .	4	4 0
" Mr. Joseph Swain, Drawing and Engraving . . . . .	2	0	0	" Life Subscription . . . . .	12	12 0
" Messrs. Spencer, Sawyer, Bird, & Co., for Autotype . . . . .	65	4	6	" Entrance Fees . . . . .	13	13 0
" Mr. Head, for Postage and Sundries . . . . .	5	4	0	" Annual Subscriptions . . . . .	119	14 0
" Mr. Vaux, Rent and Expenses . . . . .	23	7	6	" Remittance for Postage . . . . .	0	3 0
" Fire Insurance on £500. . . . .	0	15	0			
" Mr. Bawtree, for transferring Stock and proving Deaths . . . . .	1	1	0			
" Messrs. J. Davy & Sons, for Printing . . . . .	1	14	0			
" Collector, for Commission and Postage . . . . .	6	15	6			
" Treasurer, for Postage and Stamps, two years . . . . .	0	16	0			
" Balance . . . . .	99	9	2			
	£397	9	1			
					£397	9 1
				By Balance in hand . . . . .	99	9 2
				J. FREDERICK NECK, Hon. TREASURER.		

The Meeting then proceeded to ballot for the officers of the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected :—

*President.*

JOHN EVANS, ESQ., F.R.S., V.P.S.A., P.G.S.

*Vice-Presidents.*

RT. HON. THE EARL OF ENNISKILLEN, D.C.L., F.R.S.,  
F.G.S.

W. S. W. VAUX, ESQ., M.A., F.R.S.

*Treasurer.*

J. F. NECK, ESQ.

*Secretaries.*

HERBERT A. GRUEBER, ESQ.

BARCLAY VINCENT HEAD, ESQ.

*Foreign Secretary.*

PERCY GARDNER, ESQ., M.A.

*Librarian.*

W. BLADES, ESQ.

*Members of the Council.*

REV. PROF. CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., V.P.R.S.L.

S. BIRCH, ESQ., LL.D., F.S.A.

COL. C. SETON GUTHRIE. R.E.

MAJOR HAY, H.E.I.C.S.

HENRY W. HENFREY, ESQ.

CHARLES F. KEARY, ESQ., M.A.

REV. S. S. LEWIS, M.A. F.S.A.

STANLEY LANE POOLE, ESQ.

SAMUEL SHARPE, ESQ., F.S.A., F.G.S.

JOHN WILLIAMS, ESQ., F.S.A.

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LIST OF MEMBERS  
OF THE  
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
OF LONDON,  
DECEMBER, 1874.



# LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

## NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

OF LONDON,

DECEMBER, 1874.

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*An Asterisk prefixed to a name indicates that the Member has compounded for his annual contribution. (O.M.)=Original Member.*

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- \*ALEXÉIEFF, M. GEORGE DE, The Friars, Aylesford.
- ALLAN, REV. WILLIAM, M.A., St. Asaph Villa, Leamington.
- ARNOLD, THOMAS JAMES, Esq., F.S.A., 1, Greville Place, N.W.
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- BURNS, EDWARD, Esq., F.S.A., Scot., 33, Dublin Street, Edinburgh.
- BUSH, COLONEL TOBIN, 14, St. James's Square; and 29, Rue de l'Orangerie, Le Havre.
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